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US: Syria likely to skip summit

Jerusalem Post Staff and news agencies

SYRIA "almost certainly" will be absent from Wednesday's summit at Sharm el-Sheikh, US Secretary of State Warren Christopher said yesterday.

He stressed that the US "has a disagreement" with Syria over its providing a haven for Palestinian groups opposing the peace process, and expressed sorrow over the existence "of a Hamas office in Damascus."

Foreign Minister Ehud Barak, meanwhile, urged Syria to appear at the summit as a sign it is against terrorism, Israel Radio said. Syria has not condemned the suicide bombings.

Failure to appear would show that Syria has not broken its ties with terrorism, Barak was quoted as saying.

Representatives of 31 countries, including US President Bill Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, are to meet for the one-day, hastily arranged gathering in Egypt.

After the conference is over, Clinton will fly to Jerusalem in Air Force 1, with Peres as his guest in the presidential plane.

Clinton is expected to meet Israeli ministers at an informal cabinet session after the international conference on terrorism, cabinet secretary Shmuel Hollander said. He said Clinton would participate in a session on terrorism with the cabinet.

Clinton will also visit the site of the No. 18 bus explosions and the graves of Yitzhak Rabin and soldiers killed in the recent bombings, and meet with some 1,000 Israeli youth in Tel Aviv on Thursday.

Lebanon meanwhile said it might boycott the meeting. Foreign Minister Faris Bouze told a news conference that Israeli occupation of Arab land was the main obstacle to Middle East peace and the 1991 Madrid conference offered the best framework to deal with regional problems.

Asked if Lebanon would boycott the summit, he said: "This deduction may be correct. You have to wait until tomorrow."

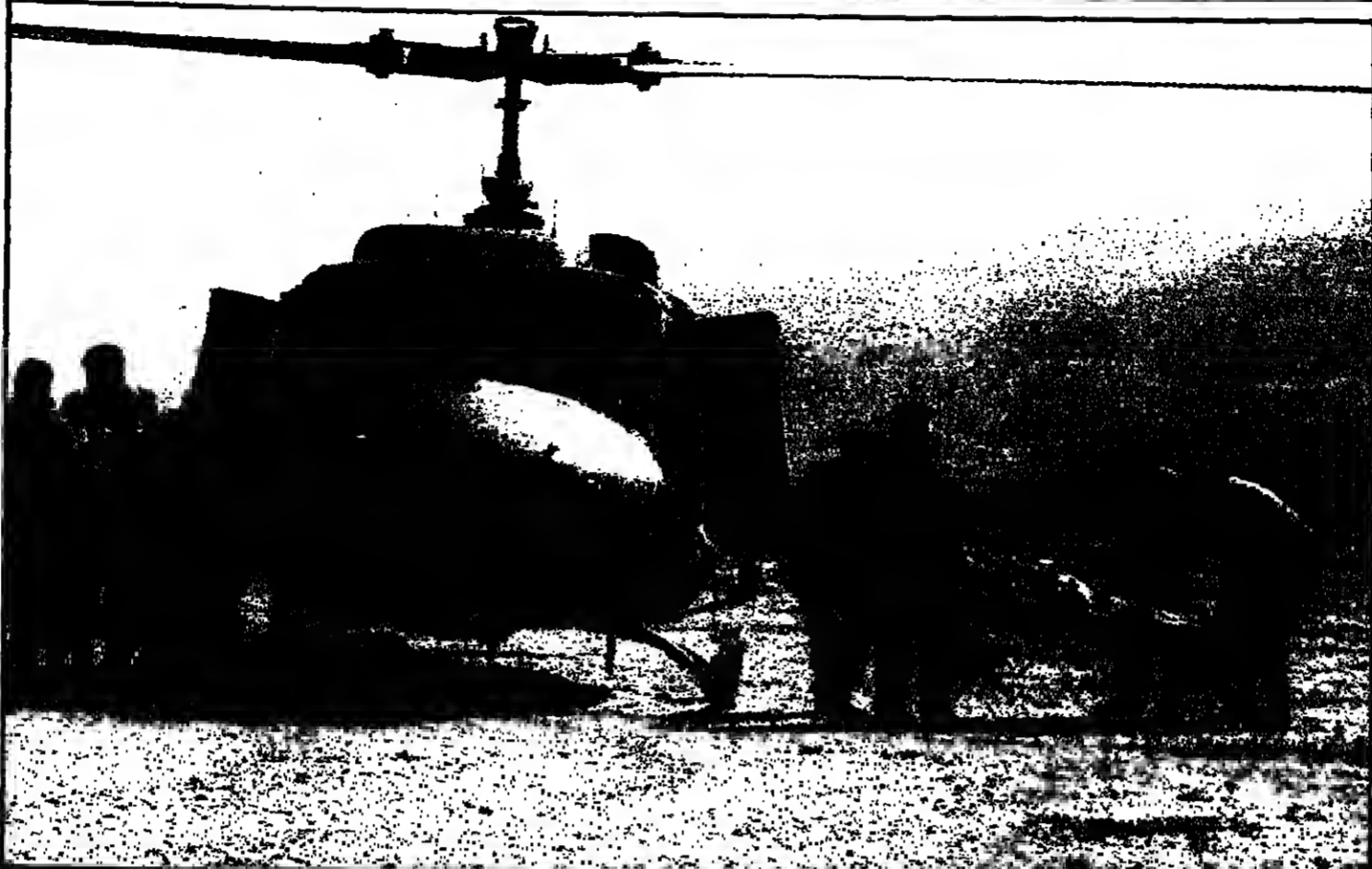
He said President Elias Hrawi would give Lebanon's final answer today.

Meeting in Sicily, European Union foreign ministers condemned Iranian and Libyan declarations of support for the suicide bombings and called on Iran to condemn all acts of terrorism "once and for all."

Iran, uninvited to the summit, denies actively helping radical Palestinian and other dissident groups. But Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati backed their right to struggle for their cause.

Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi said the "evil" would end only when Israel and the US are destroyed.

In Iraq, another pariah state in the eyes of the US, the Babel newspaper, owned by President Saddam Hussein's son Uday, said the summit was tantamount to "a comic play orchestrated by one of the most terrorist states in the world, namely the US."



An IDF crew evacuates a wounded soldier from the security zone yesterday.

(Avihu Shapira)

Security zone's 'Dizengoff' is targeted, too

BACKGROUND DAVID RUDGE

HIZBULLAH'S recent wave of attacks, including yesterday's, have a double meaning in the ongoing war of attrition it is waging against the IDF and the South Lebanese Army.

Hizbullah is demonstrating, as it has in the past, its ability to carry out deadly operations against the "occupying forces of the Zionist enemy." It is also sending a message to residents of the security zone, as part of its psychological war aimed at bringing about the collapse of the SLA, that nowhere is safe from the "long arm" of Hizbullah.

The bomb placed on a road that is considered the most secure in the zone underlined this message to both the IDF and residents of the zone.

The road, which runs from the "Good Fence" at Metulla, via Klia, to Marjayoun and the com-

mand headquarters of the SLA and the IDF's Lebanese Liaison Unit, used to be known as the security zone's Dizengoff Street. It was a road along which IDF troops, visiting journalists, and Israeli officials could travel with relative impunity.

It is also one of the more pleasant urban routes inside the zone, passing through villages lined with street lights, sidewalk shops and cafes, and workshops.

There should be no surprise, therefore, that for Hizbullah the Dizengoff Street of the security zone was a prime target - primarily because of where it is and what it stands for.

Hizbullah has struck there in the past with fatal results, and according to reports from Leba-

non, narrowly missed hitting Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin Shahak when he was in the zone last September.

Another message can be drawn from the latest attack - that it could not have been carried out without the collusion and collaboration of local residents.

This in turn points to an even more worrisome phenomenon from the IDF's point of view: Hizbullah's war on the ground and its incessant propaganda campaign, coupled with recent measures by Lebanese authorities against the SLA and its commanders, appear to be bearing fruit.

The two-pronged assault, given the concern of residents of the zone over their future in the

event of an Israel-Syria-Lebanon peace accord, is adding to the pressure on the local populace.

The latest attack comes hard on the heels of the abortive hang glider attack and huge car bomb attempts.

It also follows the cross border shooting that led four IDF soldiers to their deaths in another roadside bomb trap last Monday.

These events, apart from the escalation in long-range attacks on IDF and SLA positions, indicate that whatever restraints may have been imposed on Hizbullah by the Syrians, these have been eased.

This might not be a direct message, but it could be one of the most important conclusions to be drawn from the recent wave of incidents for which the IDF and the SLA have paid such a high price.

IDF soldier killed by Hizbullah roadside bomb

DAVID RUDGE

STAFF-SGT. Erez David, 19, of Caesarea, was killed and five other soldiers were wounded, one of them critically, in south Lebanon yesterday.

The attack which claimed David's life and wounded four of the soldiers occurred less than 500 meters from the Fatmah border crossing point, near Metulla.

Hizbullah gunmen detonated a roadside bomb alongside their patrol, on the outskirts of Klia village, as they were traveling from Marjayoun to Metulla.

The device had apparently been planted in nearby olive groves, most probably with the collaboration of residents of the zone, even though those in Klia, a Shi'ite village, are considered to be close to Israel and the South Lebanese Army.

The route itself is used daily by hundreds of IDF troops and Lebanese civilians crossing into and out of Israel, including those from Klia, many of whom work in Israel.

David, a graduate of the agricultural school in Pardes Hanna, is survived by his parents, Aliya and Nuri, longtime residents of Or Akiva who recently moved to Caesarea, and brothers Meni, 16, and Tomer, 9. The time and place of the funeral will be announced later.

The wounded soldiers were evacuated by helicopter to Haifa's Rambam Hospital. Deputy hospital director Dr. Zvi Ben-Ishai said one of the wounded was admitted in critical condition, while another was suffering from serious wounds.

He said the other two were suffering from light to moderate wounds, and all of them had undergone surgery. Hizbullah claimed responsibility for the attack, as well as long-range mortar attacks early in the

morning in the Beaufort and Ali Tahr regions in the eastern sector of the zone.

During the early morning bombardments, an IDF major was moderately to lightly wounded. He was evacuated to Safed's Rebecca Sieff Hospital.

Hizbullah gunmen were also believed to be responsible for firing Sagger anti-tank missiles at an IDF convoy in the central sector of the security zone.

There were also reports of firing at IDF and SLA positions in the zone's western sector, around Rashaf and Hadatha villages, for which Amal is believed responsible.

IDF and SLA gunners blasted suspected terrorist targets north of the zone in response to the attacks. There were no immediate reports of any casualties among the attackers or any civilians.

OC Northern Command Maj.-Gen. Amiram Levine went to the scene of the roadside bomb blast yesterday afternoon. He said the IDF would find the way and means to respond.

The last bomb attack in the same area, close to the border with Metulla, occurred in October 1988 when a suicide car bomb exploded alongside an IDF patrol, killing seven soldiers and wounding eight.

A senior source in Northern Command said the attack was the latest in a series by Hizbullah, including that last Monday in which four IDF soldiers were killed and nine wounded.

The source noted that there have been over 100 incidents in south Lebanon since the beginning of the year, and that there has been a marked escalation lately. "There's no doubt that Hizbullah gunmen have taken encouragement from suicide bomb attacks by Hamas terrorists inside Israel. There's also no doubt that they are trying to carry out qualitative attacks against the IDF and SLA," said the source.

PA Police arrest Izzadin Kassam deputy chief

JON IMMANUEL

THE Palestinian Police have arrested the deputy commander and two other members of Izzadin Kassam, and a possible Hamas-Kassam go-between.

The three Kassam members - Abdel-Fatah Satari, Kamal Khalifa, and Salaam Abu Maaruf - are based in the Khan Yunis area and appear on Israel's 13 most wanted list for attacks on soldiers before the pullout of IDF troops in June 1994.

The fourth man, Abdullah Abdel-Fatah Duhan, is considered a Hamas official with close links to Izzadin Kassam. His interrogation could reveal whether Hamas gave direct orders to Izzadin Kassam, its military wing, to launch attacks, said Palestinian Authority Attorney-General Khalid al-Qidrah.

General al-Qidrah said the tolerant attitude to Hamas as a political organization, Kassam, as an armed group, has been outlawed.

Satari, 33, is considered the deputy chief of Izzadin Kassam, and is believed to have organized last year's attack at Kfar Darom. His superior is Mohammed Dief, who is still at large.

Satari has been on Israel's wanted list for six years and was with Imad Akef, then the most wanted member of Izzadin Kassam and the killer of 13 soldiers, when he was shot dead by soldiers two years ago. Satari escaped and has headed Izzadin Kassam in Khan Yunis.

Palestinian sources close to Hamas said that Satari had at least one meeting with Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat after the

January 5 assassination of Yihye Ayyash, in which he promised to maintain a cease-fire. It is not clear whether he broke his pledge or whether he was powerless to impose it.

"It is unlikely Arafat would meet with the military wing," Al-Qidrah said, adding there is no firm evidence against any of the four. "All of them will be investigated to see if they had engaged in illegal activities. Then a decision will be taken to try them."

Police are now searching for a man called Hassan Salameh, who is believed hiding in Ramallah and may have been in overall charge of the bombings. He trained in Sudan after fleeing to Egypt in 1990, Palestinian sources said.

Other action taken against Hamas includes confiscation of keys to mosques frequented by Hamas and their deposit with the PA Wakf, so that the PA can keep a closer eye on activities in them, police said.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Maj.-Gen. Oren Shahor, the government coordinator in the territories, have expressed satisfaction with the crackdown and are considering easing the closure within two weeks.

Palestinian officials are demanding that the closure be lifted or that Palestinians at least have access to the sea for fishing and to Egypt, from which they can import essential supplies such as flour, which has almost run out. Police bulldozed a memorial to Ayyash in Khan Yunis, Reuters reported.

Court: Attorney-general lacks authority to issue orders to IDF

THE attorney-general has no authority to order the chief IDF prosecutor to issue an indictment, the Northern Military Court ruled yesterday in a precedent-setting decision.

The move came during the court-martial of Lt. (res.) Yehoshua Sadiel, who - on Attorney-General Michael Ben-Yair's order - was charged with negligence in the death of Haim Bar-Natan, killed by friendly fire during a December 1992 incident in Lebanon.

The incident was investigated by the Military Police, and the regional military prosecutor decided there was no reason for charges to be brought. Bar-Natan's parents turned to Ben-Yair who decided Sadiel should be charged with negligence. After a lengthy battle, the judge advocate-general acceded.

Sadiel's lawyer, Dov Weisglass, argued that Ben-Yair had no right to issue the order, and the court agreed. (Jm)

Hanukka stamp - joint issue for US, Israel

JUDY SIEGEL

THE postal services of the US and Israel for the first time are to issue a stamp jointly. Due to appear in October, the stamp will commemorate Hanukka.

It will be the first Hanukka stamp to be issued by the US Postal Service. The 32-cent stamp - announced over the weekend by Postmaster-General Marvilo T. Runyon - was designed by Hanna Smantrich, a graphic-design instructor at the Corcoran School of Art in Washington. She used pieces of cut, colored paper to create a line of multi-colored

Hanukka candles.

The US plans to print 142 million copies of the stamp.

Israel Philatelic Services director Yionon Beilin confirmed yesterday that an agreement in principle has been reached to produce a Hanukka stamp with the stamp design, but of course with a denomination in shekels and the usual Hebrew and Arabic lettering, in addition to the English. He said it has yet to be decided whether the Israeli stamp

would be printed here or in the US.

The Americans, who have issued numerous Christmas stamps over the years, decided to produce a stamp for Hanukka due to complaints from Jews that they had no stamp to mark their holiday.

Israel has produced a stamp jointly once before: with Poland, to commemorate the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The US has previously done so with a handful of countries, including Sweden and Germany.

Tsomet and Gesher are still at odds

SARAH HONIG

LIKUD negotiators yesterday made no headway in reconciling the differences between Tsomet and Gesher which are holding up agreement on forming a joint electoral bloc.

The two parties continued to pull the Likud in different directions, each threatening that it might pull out of the deal it had negotiated with the Likud.

Tsomet refused to accept the memorandum of understanding signed with David Levy's people Thursday morning, and Levy

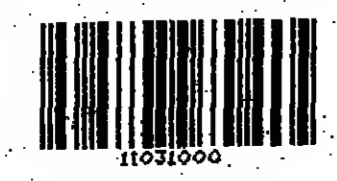
continued to maintain that the memorandum was a done deal.

From Tsomet's point of view Levy received far too much, and it came at the expense of Tsomet leader Rafael Eitan. Likud chairman Binyamin Netanyahu teoded to side with Eitan, although Likud negotiators are exasperated at what they describe as Tsomet's obstinacy and intransigence.

The upshot was a war of nerves in which both sides waited to see who would blink first.

(Continued on Page 3)

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One of the 25 Italians who came to Jerusalem to show solidarity with its residents gets a warm reaction from other riders on bus No. 18 yesterday. (Brian Hender)

# Italian visitors ride No. 18 to show solidarity

BATSHEVA TSUR and news agencies

TWENTY-FIVE Italian citizens took a ride on Jerusalem's No. 18 bus line yesterday morning to show their solidarity with the people of Israel.

The Italians boarded the bus at the site of the second bus bombing last Sunday, near the Generali Building, named for a former Italian company.

They descended on Jaffa Road, where the first bombing had taken place the previous Sunday.

"We are Italians from all walks of life who simply felt we had to be on that bus to express our solidarity with the Israeli people," said Marco Paganoni, president of the Italy-Israel friendship associations, who led the group. There are 60 such friendship associations in Italy, he said.

Paganoni said the participants had come from Rome, Milan, Bari, and Turin, as well as many small towns. They left behind their families and jobs and flew here for the week-end. Many of the participants had paid for their own trips, while others were sent by the friendship associations, he said.

"The Israelis we spoke to on the bus said they were moved by our gesture, and we found this very moving," Paganoni said.

Earlier the group members were received by Mayor Ehud Olmert and met with Italian-speaking Dep-

uty Mayor David Cassuto. They flew back home last night.

Yesterday morning at 6:20 a.m., about the same time of the two previous blasts, bus stops throughout Jerusalem were guarded by armed troops.

But commuters weren't entirely convinced. Taxis swarmed streets and dispatchers told clients they would have to wait up to a half-hour for a cab.

On one of the buses plying the early morning No. 18 route out of the Katamonim, there were never more than eight passengers - not counting the television crews, the reporters, a couple of right-wing demonstrators, and the soldiers guarding the bus.

All eight were on their way to work, except for a soldier headed to army reserve duty. None owned a car; all said they could not afford a taxi.

"It's been terrible for morale," said factory worker David Yehuda, who has taken the same bus to work for 30 years.

"No one wants to take the bus," he said. "Usually you can't breathe, it's so crowded."

"I got off the bus that exploded last week, two stops before," said his neighbor, Shalom Waknin, who works at the King David Hotel. "You have to get to work."

# Court hears petitions against home demolitions

EVELYN GORDON

THE High Court of Justice yesterday heard three petitions against the destruction of terrorists' homes, while three additional petitions filed yesterday plus a fourth filed last week are slated to be heard today.

The petitions heard yesterday came from the family of Labib Azem of Kafri Karyut, who committed the Ramat Gan bus bombing on July 24; the family of Sa'fyan Jabarin, who committed the bus No. 26 bombing in Jerusalem on August 21; and the family of Iman Seedar of Abu Dis, who recruited the terrorists responsible for two attacks in late 1994: The shooting attack in Jerusalem's Nahalat Shiva neighborhood and the suicide bombing opposite Binyanei Ha'nama in Jerusalem.

A petition by the family of Muhdi Sharif of Beit Hanina, who gave Jabarin the explosives used in the No. 26 attack, was supposed to have been heard as well, but was postponed until today due to lack of time.

The three other petitions came from the family of Ibrahim Sarahna of the Fawar refugee camp near Hebron, who committed the suicide attack in Ashkelon two weeks ago; the family of Majid Abu Warda, also of Fawar, who

committed the first bus No. 18 bombing in Jerusalem two weeks ago; and the family of Abed el-Majid Dudin, who recruited Jabarin for the No. 26 attack.

Attorney Lea Tsemel, representing the Azem and Jabarin families, and attorney Jawad Boulous, representing the Seedar, argued that the long length of time which has passed since the attacks eliminates the deterrent value of destroying the houses, since the army has always said the deterrent value of house destructions depends on them occurring swiftly.

Destruction orders against the Azem and Jabarin houses were issued several months ago, but never implemented. Seedar has been under arrest since May.

Furthermore, the lawyers argued, if the army considered it unnecessary to destroy the houses before, there is no reason to do so now just because of the recent spate of attacks. Boulous charged that the sudden decision to destroy the houses was motivated not by security needs but by politics: The government needs to show that it is doing something.

"Can an event retroactively achieve much more importance than [the army] gave it then?" Tsemel asked.

Government attorneys Yehuda Sheffer and Yocheved Genesin responded that destroying houses is a drastic measure taken only when it is deemed truly necessary. Because of the six months of relative quiet following the No. 26 bombing - the two suicide attacks in November did not count, Genesin said, because they were not within the Green Line and fortunately resulted in no casualties - the army believed that the problem had solved itself, so such drastic measures were not necessary.

However, the events of the past two weeks have shown that this assessment was wrong, and that drastic measures are still necessary, Sheffer said.

"No reasonable commander would have done otherwise," he stated.

With regard to Jabarin, Tsemel also argued that his identity as the No. 26 bomber had not been proven, since Jabarin's father claims to have seen him alive the day after the bombing.

However, Justices Gavriel Bach, Mishael Cheshin, and Dalia Dorner appeared highly skeptical of this claim. Not only did both DNA testing and fingerprinting identify Jabarin as the bomber, they noted, but the man who organized the attack identified him as the perpetrator, the family erected a mourning booth for him, and no one else seems to have seen him.

Two of the three petitions submitted yesterday - that of the Sarahna and Abu Warda families - also argued that the bomber's identity was not proven, since the army had in both cases had to redo the genetic profile tests, and the families were not allowed to identify the bodies.

The petitions also argued that destroying the houses would unfairly hurt the innocent families. Sarahna's mother, for instance, is a widow with heart problems and two remaining sons, one of whom is mentally ill and the other of whom also has heart problems, the petition said.

The Dudin family's petition, in addition to the argument that destroying the house punishes the innocent, also raised the argument about the long time that has passed since the attack.

The court is expected to rule on all seven petitions in the next few days.

# Umm el-Fahm deputy mayor placed under house arrest

RAINE MARCUS

UMM el-Fahm deputy mayor Dr. Suliman Agabirah, 39, suspected of transferring funds from non-profit organizations to the families of Hamas terrorists was placed under house arrest by Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court Judge George Kara yesterday.

He was remanded last Thursday for four days after police said he received NIS 10 million annually in donations from Hamas organizations abroad over the past four years. The police asked yesterday for a further 14-day remand, insisting they have proof linking Agabirah to funds trans-

ferred to families of terrorists.

Agabirah had argued that the Islamic Reacne organization, based in Nazareth and Umm el-Fahm, and another non-profit association mainly provided financial help to orphans, but police countered that "orphans" were last on the organizations' list of priorities.

Police said they had seized a fax, sent from a Hamas organization in the US, requesting funding for the family of Imad Akei, who was killed by Israeli security

forces in Gaza last year.

Additional documents indicating that the families of suicide bombers, terrorists, and deportees were granted substantial financial aid were also handed to the court.

Agabirah denies all the allegations, insisting that the investigation is purely a political one.

Kara ruled that house arrest would not disrupt further investigation, and ordered Agabirah's phone line disconnected. He also barred him from using or renting a cellular phone or leaving the country.

# Palestinians boycott opening of Jerusalem police station

BILL HUTMAN

PALESTINIAN leaders boycotted yesterday's inauguration of the new police station in eastern Jerusalem, located in the post-office building on Salah a-Din Street, just outside the Old City.

A handful of Palestinians were invited to the ceremony by the Internal Security Ministry. The ministry declined, however, to reveal who was invited or comment on the boycott.

Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal confirmed that "Arab notables were invited." He said they did not come, "because it is Sunday," apparently in reference to the Christian sabbath that some of the invited Palestinians observe. Shahal did not elaborate.

"The Arab notables wouldn't have come no matter what day the ceremony was held," because their appearance would be viewed as collaboration with Israel, a senior ministry official said.

However, police believe that while the station's opening has political implications, it more importantly answers a need in the city's Arab community.

The station, which is to be manned by many Arabic-speaking officers, will join the Kishleh station in the Old City, which Israel took over from the Jordanians after the Six Day War.

"For 29 years there was no Israel Police station in eastern Jerusalem. Governments came and went, but the police had no proper station in eastern Jerusalem," Shahal said at the ceremony.

"Into the vacuum created by this situation, all sorts of questionable groups, some nationalistic and some criminal, moved in," Shahal said.

There are unconfirmed reports of dozens to hundreds of Palestinian security agents operating in eastern Jerusalem.

"All that has ended today," Shahal said. "The enemies of peace ... would do well to understand our determination to remain here and conduct normal lives."

# Suleimani can't see lawyer

THE High Court of Justice yesterday rejected a petition by Said Suleimani, the Israeli Arab suspected of bringing the Dizengoff bomber to Tel Aviv, to be allowed to meet with his lawyer. The decision followed a closed-door hearing and review of classified material. Evelyn Gordon

Sources in the Central Command expressed concern that withdrawal will lead to violent clashes between Jewish and Arab residents of the city. (Itim)

# TSOMET

(Continued from Page 1) Likud sources said they fear that by the time Levy and Eitan are softened up, the Likud will have lost precious points in the war for public opinion.

They described the entire quarrel as frustrating because, in the end, Levy and Eitan are after different portfolios, with Eitan wanting Defense and Levy the Foreign Ministry. The difference is a matter of prestige - who will take the place of the prime minister when he is abroad.

Both Eitan and Levy claim this position. Eitan maintains that after he had ceded the second slot on the list to Levy, it is time that Levy be less petty. Eitan argues that he must not be penalized because he was the first to sign an agreement with the Likud. Tsomet, he says, has shown it can win Knesset seats, while Geshar has yet to pass any electoral test and the polls indicate it might fail miserably.

The unresolved differences resulted in the postponement of the first meeting in which representatives of all three parties were to have conferred together. The Likud's separate sessions with Tsomet and Geshar representatives are due to resume today.

Meanwhile, Wednesday's Likud central committee meeting to approve the Tsomet and Geshar deals has been put off because of the Sharm e-Sheikh summit.

# Barak: public order, civil rights must be guarded in times of crisis

BATSHEVA TSUR

THE proof of a democracy lies in its ability to maintain public order and defend civil rights in times of crisis, Supreme Court President Justice Aharon Barak declared yesterday.

"At a time of attacks like this, only near certainty that real danger will be caused to the public interest justifies restricting the right to freedom of speech and movement," Barak told a swearing-in ceremony for 13 judges at

Beit Hanassi.

However, "what may have seemed to be a far-off certainty in the past could possibly turn into a close certainty" at these times, Barak added. "These are circumstantial changes that have to be taken into account."

Turning to the new judges, Barak stressed the need for independence of the judiciary, even though judges feel the pain no less than the rest of the public.

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FOURTH IN A SERIES

# QUESTIONS FOR COMMSTOCK

Q. "I'm curious to know what the difference is, if any, between a portfolio planner and a stock broker."  
B.R., Kfar Shmaryahu

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It's wise to meet with a good portfolio planner to explore how a diversified portfolio can meet your needs for income, growth or a combination of the two.

Do you need answers about investing? Mail or fax your questions, along with your name, address and phone number, to SUCCESSFUL INVESTING Co CommStock Trading, POB 7777, Jerusalem, Fax: 02-244876. If your question is used in this column, you will receive a gift from CommStock!

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Central Committee for the Election of the 14th Knesset and of the Prime Minister of the Submission of Candidate Lists for the 14th Knesset and of Candidates for Prime Minister

Pursuant to Regulation 16 (Alef) of the Regulations for the Election of the Prime Minister and the Knesset 1973, notice is given that forms for the submission of candidate lists for the Knesset and of candidates for prime minister, in accordance with Regulation 12, will be available at the offices of the Central Committee in the Knesset building, Jerusalem, from Tuesday, March 12, 1996 (excluding Fridays) 8 a.m. - 1 p.m., and 2 - 6 p.m.

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# UN to NATO: Help in Yugoslavia

TONY CZUCZKA  
SARAJEVO

MORE fearful Serbs fled lawless Sarajevo suburbs Sunday, and a UN aid official accused the NATO-led peacemaking force of failing to offer enough protection.

Two days before Ilidza was to be handed over to the Moslem-Croat federation, fires burned in a clothing factory and a pharmacy in the largely deserted Serb suburb. Dozens waited at a wrecked streetcar terminal for transportation to Serb-held areas.

Serb thugs intent on proving that Bosnians from different ethnic groups cannot live together have been blamed for intimidation, arson and a reported murder designed to drive Serbs out of the two remaining Sarajevo areas not yet under federation control.

International police monitors have been told by "local sources" that more than 200 buildings and houses would be burned down in the areas in the next 48 hours, spokesman Alexander Ivanko said Sunday.

UN and NATO officials say Serb gangs apparently are being directed by the hard-line leadership in the Serb stronghold of Pale.

The Serb mayor of Ilidza, Nedeljko Prstojevic, appealed yesterday to anyone who owns a truck to assemble in the suburb today to help evacuate remaining civilians, the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA reported.

International civilian officials said NATO should do more to respond to the security vacuum as Serb police withdraw or stand by because federation police are not yet in place. Military officials said they were doing all they could. A spokesman for the UN High



A group of elderly Serbs await buses yesterday in Ilidza, a Serb-held suburb of Sarajevo, in order to leave before the area comes under Croat-Moslem rule tomorrow.

Commissioner for Refugees said increased NATO patrols in the areas were inadequate.

"They are not sufficient. We would like to see more presence to stop the violence and stop arson," Kris-Janowski said. "We would like to see as much security as possible, because it's essential for these people to be able to stay." Gangs are going from house to

house in Ilidza, telling people to leave, and desperate residents are coming to the UNHCR office saying they want to stay but need protection, he said.

The 60,000-strong NATO-led force has rejected police-style duties for fear of being drawn into conflict with the enemy sides.

Maj. Simon Haselock, a NATO spokesman, said the peace

force had done what it could to encourage people to stay.

"We do not perceive it as anarchic," he said. "This is a migration of people."

On Saturday, NATO officials tried to reassure Serb residents in Ilidza but acknowledged they could not guarantee security.

Mark Cuts, UNHCR's chief envoy in Sarajevo, pleaded with the

Serbs to stop laying waste to Ilidza and Ortavica, a Serb-held Sarajevo neighborhood that will be transferred to the federation March 19.

"We appeal to those who are trying to destroy the process of reintegrating the city to stop intimidating people into leaving and to stop destroying buildings and the livelihoods of those who will remain," he said. (AP)

# Russian forces in Grozny claim victory, but at a price

GROZNY, Russia (AP) - The government claimed victory yesterday over the huge rebel force that attacked the Chechen capital, but the assault left scores dead and further demoralized Russian soldiers fighting the unpopular war.

Government troops have regained control of Grozny, and most of the Chechen rebels who launched the assault were gone yesterday, although bands of snipers continued firing on Russian positions.

A Russian Foreign Ministry official in Moscow told the Interfax news agency that Chechen separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev committed all 1,800 of his men to the assault, but the rebels failed to seize a single checkpoint in or around Grozny.

But the deputy prime minister of the Kremlin-backed Chechen government, Abdula Bugayev, criticized government forces for allowing hundreds of rebel fighters to freely enter the city on Wednesday.

"For two days they behaved as if they were the masters and only on the third day federal troops and local police started resistance," Bugayev said on independent Russian NTV.

He said a criminal investigation has been launched to find out who was responsible.

"This war is crap," a Russian Interior Ministry serviceman who fought to drive the rebels out of Grozny told Associated Press Television.

"We don't understand if the city belongs to us or to them," said the serviceman, Andrei, who would give only his first name. "I think it belongs to them."

Although the streets were fairly quiet on Sunday, Russian soldiers manning the checkpoints were still nervous and expected another attack at any time.

"We live from day to day," Alyosha, a soldier who also would give only his first name, told APTV. "You can't plan anything."

Soldiers spoke of heavy losses in the four days of fighting, the worst in Grozny in a year. They said Russian troops lost virtually an entire battalion in a battle on the city's outskirts.

Their burnt bodies are still there, waiting for us to get them out," Alyosha said.

Numbers of casualties have been sketchy and contradictory. Russian Television reported Sunday that about 70 government troops had been killed and 200 wounded in the four days of fighting - lower than some previous estimates.

The Russian government said 170 rebels were killed and more than 100 were wounded.

# UN experts say nothing found in Baghdad building

BAGHDAD (Reuters) - United Nations arms experts found no prohibited documents or materials in a Baghdad government building they searched over the weekend, a senior UN official said yesterday.

"Nothing related to prohibited programs was found," Charles Duelfer, deputy chairman of the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) disarming Iraq, told Reuters.

At least 25 experts searched the building housing the Irrigation Ministry for seven hours on Saturday. They suspected Iraq had hidden in it documents related to its banned weapons.

About 40 international arms experts under veteran Russian inspector Nikita Smidovich were refused access to the building when they tried to enter on Friday.

They camped outside the building in central Baghdad for about 18 hours. Baghdad allowed them in after a demand from the Security Council that Iraqi obstruction constituted a violation of cease-fire terms that ended the 1991 Gulf War over Kuwait.

Duelfer said the delay could have diminished the possibility of the inspectors finding what they were up to. He said there was a lot of movement in the building but added it was hard to prove it was carried out during the standoff.

The multi-story building is in the heart of Baghdad. The ministry has only recently moved there.

Duelfer said when the inspectors decided to examine the building they were not aware it was occupied by a ministry. Iraq views ministry buildings as symbols of sovereignty.

The structure was previously occupied by the Fao establishment, one of Iraq's largest state-owned companies which spearheaded the country's post-Gulf War reconstruction drive.

"It is possible our information was wrong... I cannot say with certainty there was evidence of moving or concealing information prior to our arrival," Duelfer, an American, said.

Nonetheless, he said the UN still suspected Iraq was hiding "agents, munitions and probably missiles," and UNSCOM was determined to "pursue those questions vigorously."

# China captures two hijack couples

BEIJING (Reuters) - Police at southern China's Zhuhai airport captured two couples who brandished dynamite and daggers in an attempt to hijack a domestic flight and divert it to Taiwan, the Portuguese news agency LUSA said yesterday.

The couples, accompanied by two children, tried to commandeer Hainan Airlines flight H4 180 with some 200 passengers on board.

They were overpowered by security officers during the flight,

said LUSA from Macau, quoting airport sources.

The Chinese hijackers, armed with sticks of dynamite and daggers, tried to force the pilot to fly to Nationalist-ruled Taiwan, about 700 km east of Zhuhai.

An official from Zhuhai airport, near the Portuguese colony of Macau on China's southern coast, confirmed the hijacking of the Boeing 737 had ended without incident.

"All the passengers have been

freed," she said by telephone. "Whoever hijacked the plane has been captured."

"The state of emergency at the airport has been lifted," she added. She refused to give further details.

The incident occurred at a time of increasing tensions between China and Taiwan, with Beijing conducting a series of large scale war games in waters around the island to try to quash Taipei's drive to enhance its international profile.

# 'Queen cutting down on royal privileges'

LONDON (Reuters) - Britain's Queen Elizabeth is taking steps to curb the privileges enjoyed by the royal family in a bid to restore the monarchy's discredited and battered image, a Sunday newspaper reported.

The Sunday Times said the queen, worried by indications that a tide of republicanism was beginning to wash over the nation, had decided to restrict royal spending.

"The concern is to make sure

that public money is used in a proper, responsible way," a royal source told the newspaper.

"The queen's attitude is not to be complacent but not to be too jumpy."

On Friday, the queen used a scheduled train service to travel to an engagement outside London, rather than taking the special royal train, and sources at Buckingham Palace told the newspaper that such trips would become more common in future.

She also stripped the right of tree postage enjoyed by the Duchess of York, the former Sarah Ferguson, estranged wife of Prince Andrew.

In 1992 the queen broke with centuries of tradition by agreeing to pay income tax and cutting the number of royals who received money from public coffers from eight to three.

The Sun newspaper said that in a telephone poll last week, 5,000 people said the queen should be the last British monarch compared to 3,190 who want the monarchy to continue.

# Dole looking past 'Super Tuesday'

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - Senator Bob Dole, anxious to put the Republican nomination battle behind him so he can concentrate on beating President Bill Clinton, looked forward yesterday to seven more primary victories this week that could put him most of the way toward the presidential nomination.

Republicans hold primaries tomorrow in Texas, Florida, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana and Oregon in what has come to be known as "Super Tuesday." With 362 delegates to the Republican National Convention at stake, the day had been viewed as a make-or-break test for the Republican nomination.

But Dole's string of 10 primary victories over the past eight days has turned "Super Tuesday" into little more than a formality. With conservative commentator Pat Buchanan and publisher Steve Forbes as his last remaining opponents, the Senate majority leader is expected to steamroll to victory in all seven states.

In Dallas yesterday, Dole made a low-key appeal to the heart of the religious conservative "Bible Belt," attending services at Prestonwood Baptist Church with his wife, Elizabeth, who addressed the congregation.

Although Buchanan has made the campaign's most open appeals to religious conservatives, Oklahoma Republican Sen. Don Nickles, a Dole ally, said he

believed Dole can appeal to that group as well as economic conservatives.

"I think Bob Dole is able to unite economic conservatives and people who are concerned about moral issues - social conservatives - more than anybody else in the race," Nickles told reporters on Saturday.

Nickles and other Dole allies have begun to attack Clinton on character issues. "We need a president of the United States who has character, right now we have a character for president," Nickles said in Oklahoma City on Saturday.

The 72-year-old Kansas senator, on his third presidential bid, has already begun looking ahead to what is shaping up as a tight election battle against Clinton. In recent days, he has been focusing on foreign policy, which he clearly views as one potential area of weakness in the president's record.

In weekend campaign appearances, he criticized Clinton's policies on Cuba, the Middle East, Bosnia and Haiti.

"When Bob Dole is in the White House and we have to send troops somewhere, I will make that decision, not [Secretary-General] Boutros-Boutros Ghali in the United Nations," Dole said at an Oklahoma City rally on Saturday, repeating one of the most reliable applause lines in his campaign stump speech.



## STATE OF ISRAEL MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR

### DISPLAY OF VOTERS REGISTER FOR INSPECTION BY THE PUBLIC

Dear Citizen,

1. In accordance with the Knesset Elections Law (Consolidated Version) 1969 and the Elections to the Fourteenth Knesset and for Prime Minister (Ad Hoc) Law 1996, a voters register has been prepared, listing every citizen (and resident in a local authority) born before June 18, 1978.

**The Voters Register will be displayed for inspection by the public from March 3 to March 11, 1996.**

2. If your name should be included in the register and does not appear, or there is an error in the listing of your name or address, you may submit an appeal at any Population Registration office until March 12, 1996.

**Do Not Forget to Bring Your Identity Card**

3. Anyone who submits such an appeal and does not receive a reply by March 17, 1996, or who receives a reply he considers inadequate, is entitled to appeal to the District Court by Monday, March 22, 1996. Such an appeal is not subject to a court fee.

#### INFORMATION BY PHONE

Inquiries regarding registration in the voters rolls may be made by phone at any one of the following numbers, from March 3, 1996, to March 11, 1996 (except for Saturday), 8:30 a.m. - 10:00 p.m.

COMPUTERIZED INFORMATION: TELEPHONE OPERATORS:

HEBREW	177-022-3991	177-022-0280
ARABIC	177-022-5447	177-022-0281
RUSSIAN	177-022-5991	177-022-0282
AMHARIC	177-022-6224	177-022-0283
ENGLISH	177-022-3998	177-022-0284

From 4 p.m. until 7 p.m. (excluding Friday and Saturday)

02-6522148	03-5034181	06-323047	06-521492	09-583112
02-6522149	03-5034182	06-323128	06-521451	09-581070
02-6523705	03-5193284	06-791725	07-340661	09-560879
02-294769	03-5193284	06-921474	07-340662	09-7677255
02-290211	03-5194400	06-921424	07-296463	09-7677285
02-290241	03-9666350	06-508515	07-296464	09-612534
02-290245	03-9666482	06-508535	07-296465	09-623994
02-294818	03-9666196	06-508537	07-737165	
03-9311596	04-616224	06-791723	07-737612	
03-9311906	04-616227	06-791724	08-214711	
03-9347602	04-9917523	06-521384	08-214712	
03-6722106	04-616231	06-322934	08-457727	
03-6722107	04-616233			

## OCCUPATION: NAZI-HUNTER

The Continuing Search for Perpetrators of the Holocaust

The renewed interest in the efforts to prosecute the perpetrators of the Holocaust was sparked by revelations that Allied countries such as USA, UK, Canada and Australia had afforded a postwar haven to thousands of Nazi collaborators. Efraim Zuroff, director of the Israel Office of the Simon Wiesenthal Center and coordinator of the Center's research on Nazi war criminals, discusses in his book how Nazi-hunting was revived in the seventies, how it was carried out in the eighties and whether it can continue in the nineties.

Foreword by Rabbi Marvin Hier. Published by KTAV, Hardcover, 374 pp.

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مركز من الصحف

# Heartbeat of Japan

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

The loincloth-clad members of Kodo get quite a workout in performance. But they aren't athletes, they're musicians. Welcome to the world of Sado Island, the site of a kind of Japanese musical kibbutz devoted to the art of the taiko, a traditional Japanese drum which comes in many shapes and sizes.

New apprentices are trained — and the company rehearses for its extensive tours — in a communal atmosphere shaped by military-style discipline.

"We get 20 to 30 requests every year, of which we accept about 10 to 12," says company director Takashi Akamine. "At the end of that year we do auditions and eventually one or two make it to Kodo."

It all began in 1981 when a group who had come to Sado Island a decade earlier made their professional international debut at the Berlin Festival.

Now, 15 years later, Kodo is one of the most sought-after music ensembles in the world and its members tour about four months each year. They are currently in the middle of a two-week run at London's Sadler's Wells Theater, after which they will come here, for the first time.

Kodo has a dual meaning in Japanese, explains Akamine, speaking by phone from a London hotel.

The first is "heartbeat, the primal source of all rhythm. We believe that the sound of the great taiko drum resembles a mother's heartbeat as felt in the womb. In Japan babies are put to sleep with this particular music. Kodo also means children of the drum."

All Kodo members live on Sado Island. The bachelors reside in Kodo village while the married ones live nearby. A typical day at the village, Akamine explains, has a very strict schedule.

"We start with breakfast at 7:15. We take turns cooking; we share household duties. After the meal we clean and then from 9 to 6 we practice, with one lunch break. Dinner is at 6:30 and then there is free time in which you can continue practice or do whatever you want."

Things are loosening up, however. Their strict way of life is no longer mandatory, for example. "We believe that every member of Kodo knows best how to take care after himself and how to always be in shape. We have our daily life but we don't force anybody to follow it precisely.

But restrictions remain for apprentices. "Their life is organized for them. It's like a monastery with no smoking, no drinking and no TV," he says.

ANOTHER tradition that is slowly changing regards female drummers. "Kodo is a very men-oriented company, we hadn't had women drummers for a long time. We always had a female dancer, but no drummers."

Now there are three female drummers who "work very hard because it's a strenuous performance and they have to work hard to prove themselves to all the men."

Kodo members perform "a mixture of traditional and contemporary music. Some members write music for the company and there are some outside musicians who contribute too."

There is more to a Kodo evening than mere music making. "On stage our performance is quite an important part of our artistic presentation, it's a very physical show, strenuous work and they all have to maintain the tension through the show." The performances usually last about 100 minutes without intermission, not counting the encores which can last for an additional hour.

Kodo's major source of income is touring, as well as its eight CDs and two videos. Touring is occasionally partially subsidized by the Japanese government but on the whole Kodo does not depend on state funding.

Then there is extra income from special projects like recording the sound track for Claude Van Damme's *Hard Target* or for Universal's *The Hunted*, a ninja movie starring Christopher Lambert, John Lone and Joan Chen.

Kodo performs at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv on March 19 and 25 with further performances March 23 in the Mikhael Amphitheater on Mt. Gilboa March 23, and at the Jerusalem International Convention Center March 24.

A performance in Gaza is also being considered, at the request of the Japanese Embassy here.



It takes tremendous physical conditioning to play the taiko, a traditional Japanese drum.

# Turning a Page from his past

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

When Gothic Voices sings its final note here, not all the lingering echoes will be musical ones. The visit will have a very personal resonance for Christopher Page, founder and leader of the UK-based medieval music ensemble.

"My parents met each other in Jerusalem just before the State of Israel was born. They met at the Italian Hospice and got married at St. George's Cathedral. Now I will be able to visit these places," says the 44-year-old musician in a phone conversation from his Cambridge home. The group is making its debut here later this week as part of the Authentica series.

"We grew up on memories of Jerusalem," Page continues. "And although I'm not a religious man, being a taxi ride away from Bethlehem is something I would not miss for the world."

Musically, it promises to be an unusual journey as well. "It will be interesting to perform the music for an Israeli audience. It's the first time we have ever performed outside a Christian cultural context," Page explains.

He formed Gothic Voices 15 years ago, while a medieval literature professor at Cambridge University.

"The music of the Western world has been extraordinarily experimental, with almost everything it has been given being eventually changed," he says. "Our music is part of the continuing Western experiment of polyphonic music and therefore it has an important place in that development."

Page elaborates that this particular music grew out of the social structure of the time in France and England.

"Virtually all culture was in the hands of the clergy, who exist in a bewildering variety of forms. They are the people who perform

the music on the whole. And so the background of the music is in the life of the clergy."

Not all music at the time was religious, however. "Everybody sang. But we don't have notations of the songs of soldiers who sang as they marched, or women as they rocked their cradle. The secular music we perform is still from within the world of the clergy."

He adds: "The structure of the priesthood is incredibly complex. From the pope to the boy who serves at the altar. And they were all singing."

Page makes constant comparisons between the musical traditions he researches and the ones of early Israel.

"I would say that we know about as much concerning the performance of this music as we know how sounds were performed in the Temple, which means we don't much at all. So we have to reconstruct it with patience and love as best we can."

Page acknowledges that authenticity could be a rather dangerous concept, even when performing medieval music. "I don't know if what we do is authentic, I wish I knew. We try and make it historical as far as we can, but true authenticity comes from within one's own self."

In contrast with other medieval music ensembles, "we don't use a battery of curious instruments, percussion and all that sort of thing, which had no place in the serious music-making of the Middle Ages. Music was just for singers then, which is different from the music which was performed at the Temple in Jerusalem."

Gothic Voices will perform at the Jerusalem Theater on Thursday and two days later at the Noga Theater in Jaffa.

# Death by drowning: The lost weekend as a permanent lifestyle

LEAVING LAS VEGAS

Written and directed by Mike Figgis. Based on the novel by John O'Brien. Hebrew title: *לילות על לז'ס וגז'ס*. 112 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Children under 17 not admitted without an adult.

Ben: Nicolas Cage  
Sera: Elisabeth Shue  
Uri: Julian Sands

His skin sallow, eyes pleading, Nicolas Cage gives an enormous, excruciating performance in Mike Figgis' *Leaving Las Vegas*, and one that's all the more remarkable for its anguished attempts at humor.

Until now, Cage has always played the clown — flexing his furry eyebrows and jutting his soft

chin to broad cartoon effect. Amazingly enough, he does the same thing here, as an alcoholic Hollywood screenwriter who loses his job, burns his belongings and drives to Nevada, where he intends to drink himself to death. What's most potent about *Leaving Las Vegas* is the way that Ben, Cage's character, keeps pushing for laughs, straining grotesquely to make light of his dark situation.

On the other hand, he knows perfectly well what he's doing to himself: his decision to die is made consciously and stated up front, in the even tones that might be used by a terminally ill cancer patient, planning calmly for the end.

So Ben's masochism is at least two-fold. Not only is he willfully

killing himself by slugging back whole bottles of bourbon in a single sitting, he's making himself pathetic — murdering every last trace of the smart, verbal, funny man he clearly used to be. At times, this seems calculated too, as if Ben thought the shortest cut to suicide were simply to act like an idiot — to stand too close, talk too loud, and topple blackjack tables.

Adapted from an autobiographical novel by the late John O'Brien (who shot himself two months after optioning the book), the film is at once harsh and tender, repellent and engrossing. And almost impossible to enjoy. Indeed, at times *Leaving Las Vegas* seems very much the brainchild of its aggressively

FILM REVIEW  
ADINA HOFFMAN

sloshed anti-hero, torn between wanting the audience's affections and shoving us rudely away. But in its wake, a palpable ache lingers on.

The film is actually a love story about the raw relationship between Ben and a clear-eyed prostitute named Sera (Elisabeth Shue) — whose name is obviously meant to suggest an angel, a seraph. She's a peculiar character, at once a standard-issue where-with-a-heart-of-gold and a very actual and down-to-earth person. Shue plays Sera straight and unapologetically, with real poise, as a woman whose seemingly limitless love dictates that she let Ben do

what he wants, which is kill himself.

There's no sentimental attempt made to explain why she's a hooker (just as we don't know what first led Ben to drink), or to rescue her from her sordid career, a la *Pretty Woman*. With her mused blonde hair and girl-next-door smile, Sera looks pert as she announces that she's got to get dressed and go to work. She means no irony, though to judge from her tone, she might be talking about her cashier's job at the local Dairy Queen. At the same time, hers is not some sanitized, fantasy form of prostitution. In one extremely brutal scene toward the end, we see just the sort of debasement to which she's vulnerable, nightly.

It is, then, Sera's willingness to be horribly mortified (by among others, her Latvian pimp, played grimly by Julian Sands) that brings her so close to Ben. She herself doesn't want to die yet, but she understands viscerally his own desire. And despite the bulky symbolic cross Sera wears around her neck, the film is hardly a earnest Christian allegory about the redemption of lost souls. Part of what's so powerful and distressing about the movie is Sera's rueful understanding of the scant chances for Ben's salvation. But there's always salvation the Hollywood way. While Figgis captures beautifully the desperate, sad fumbblings of these emptied-out, whittled-down people, he stumbles in his efforts to turn their

story into a classic big-screen romance. The movie is shot on grainy color stock, with frequent, moody, black-outs, and loving close-ups reserved for the sexier scenes. The mellow sound track is made up of slow-dance standards, sung by Sting, and melancholy jazz pieces, composed by the director.

What, though, are we to make of this Bogart-and-Bacallifying of a delirious drunk and no-nonsense street walker? Figgis wants us, it seems, to see Ben and Sera's love as pure, despite everything else about them. But there's something mawkish and finally dishonest about a picture that strains so hard to be gritty and tough and then beautifies its lovers in the same old wishful fashion.

# Monodrama: Chip off the Bloch

HELEN KAYE

If it hadn't been for a remarkable Catholic priest, Florence Bloch might never have come to Israel, never explored Judaism, and certainly never anticipated stage fright next Friday when her *Molly of the Sands* debuts at the 1996 TheaterNetto at the Suzanne Dellal Center (March 14-17).

It's a multicultural collaboration among Bloch, her director, and fellow Parisians, Isabelle Stariet, who's getting ready to immigrate, and ex-pat Algerian playwright Fatima Galliane.

Molly is based very loosely on James Joyce's Molly Bloom, but this Molly is a half-Jewish, half-Arab Moroccan brought by her Arab husband to live in Paris. Far from the customs, the traditions and the freedoms of her little village, Molly must contend with a new and alien environment.

A teenager growing up in Paris, "I was looking for something to belong to," Bloch says. So she teamed up with a Christian community action group headed by Father Michel Clemencin, at her high school. She was the only Jewish girl in the group.

When Bloch told him that she was Jewish, "he said that I belonged to a great people with an incredible past. He encouraged me to find out about my Jewishness. We sat and read the Bible together, and we started at the very beginning, with Genesis."

That led to a year in Israel followed by three years as the senior counselor of French Hahonim Youth. This involved "creating educational programs which helped the kids — and me — rediscover their Jewish roots and become curious about Zionism. Like me, most of them came from totally assimilated homes."

"Then it was time to come here. Her parents, says Bloch, were so relieved that she hadn't become a Christian that they were almost enthusiastic about her commitment to Judaism.

BLOCH, 30, is slim, with long black hair and big brown eyes, inherited from her Tunisian-born mother. Her faultless Hebrew still has traces of a Parisian accent. She is a comedienne with an effortless and awesome sense of timing and what will make people laugh. She appeared at the Acre Festival while still a theater student at Tel Aviv University, and her 1992 portrayal of Herzl's psychiatrist enlivened the otherwise inert *Jewish Opera*.

"I always loved to make people laugh," she reminisces, "and I have pictures of me dressed up entertaining the family. I know when I'm funny and when I'm not. When the audience laughs, that's my joy and my adrenaline."

She graduated in 1992 and was snapped up by the Jerusalem Khan Theater, where she's still a company member and appearing as the very pregnant wife of a cop in the black comedy *There's a War Outside*.

In a few months' time, though, she'll be able to dispense with the cushion because Bloch and her new-immigrant husband, actor Reem Bleibren, are expecting their first child. Bloch is both excited and a bit apprehensive. The pregnancy and the show are both so new.

Bloch has always shied away from monodrama "because I didn't

feel I was ready. What, an audience should come to see just me on stage? But then Erán [Baniel, the Khan's artistic director] brought Isabelle and me together, and we clicked."

Stariet also told Bloch that she saw *Molly of the Sands* as a series of dialogues between Molly and characters from her past and her present. Bloch plays Molly and 14 characters "so it's material I'm familiar with. The characters are comic although the play isn't."

*Molly of the Sands* is in good company. This year's TheaterNetto is mostly a vehicle for stars. They include Shmuel Yelozny with *A Jew in Darkness* (Yehudi Behoshch in Hebrew), about the confession in 1685 of a priest who discloses his Jewish heritage and a forbidden love; Idi Tepperon in *Middle Age* (Bedni Yameiha in Hebrew), about a young woman who falls in love with her mother's former lover; Shimon Lev-Ari performing his own version of the Oedipus myth in *Oedipus in the Sky* and the octogenarian dance pioneer Dvora Bertonov in the quasi-autobiographical *A Sackful of Longings* (Sak Shel Gu'agum in Hebrew).

Other players include Roy Horowitz in *My First Sony* about a family breakup, Albert Amur with *Evansong* (Bisha'at Hane'el in Hebrew), in which a secular Jew claims that prayer belongs to him too, and Tahal Ran in *Where's*



Florence Bloch plays 'Molly of the Sands,' loosely based on James Joyce's character.

Ruth?, a play about sexual abuse. Actors in the 12 plays will compete for the NIS 10,000 Nissim Azikri Prize.

# Theater community pats itself on the back

An astounding 60 percent of the population chose the theater as their preferred leisure activity in a recent Gallup poll.

Faced with this heart-warming statistic, the theater community has finally done what it's been talking about for years. On April 24, a parade of winners will march onstage at Tel Aviv's Duhl Auditorium to pick up their first

ever Israel Theater Prize (ITP) statuette, in a ceremony that will be shown live on Channel 1.

With more than 100 new productions annually and (few) commercial theaters "recognition of those creating theater is long overdue," said Cameri Theater general manager and ITP control committee member Noam Semel.

A 100 strong academy will

decide the winners of 17 categories. The academy members will be drawn equally from the theater, press and repertory committees, and will include previous Israel Prize winners in the arts. The award categories include best play, actor, supporting actor, playwright, young talent, director and a special award for life achievement.

Helen Kaye

# On their toes

The Royal Ballet, one of the leading classical ballet companies in the world, makes its Israeli debut this June, and tickets are likely to go quickly.

The company presents five performances of its spectacular production of *Swan Lake*, in Caesarea on June 22, 24, 25, 26, and 29, with each night featuring a different pair of soloists. M.A.

**The Knesset**

Tomorrow, Tuesday, March 12, 1996, permanent entrance permits to the Knesset will not be valid from 2:30 p.m.-4:00 p.m. Entrance will be restricted to visitors with invitations and special name tags for the following areas:

Main entrances, Knesset plaza, vestibule of the Speaker's Office, plenum hall, VIP gallery, public gallery, lounge, hall and parking lots.

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## Welcome frankness

ISRAELIS owe a debt of gratitude to Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa. Unlike some of his colleagues, he eschews diplomatic double-talk and presents the Egyptian position plainly and honestly. On Saturday, ignoring the public relations blitz emanating from Jerusalem and Washington, he declined to hail Wednesday's international conference in Sharm a-Sheikh as a great historic milestone intended to signal Israel's integration in the Middle East.

Instead, he told the truth: that the participation of Arab regimes in the conference does not mean that they will cooperate with Israel on security issues; that Wednesday's gathering will result only in a political (and therefore meaningless) declaration; and that the summit's main purpose is to assure the "continued momentum of the Arab-Israeli peace process on the basis of Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories and self-determination for the Palestinians."

Moreover, the summit will not be limited to discussions of the most recent terrorist incidents, he asserted. It will address "aggression on both sides, not just on one side," and deal with the general problems of the peace process, including the closure imposed by Israel on the territories.

Moussa's attitude was echoed by Yasser Arafat's adviser and spokesman Marwan Kanafani. In an interview with Independent Media Re-

view and Analysis (IMRA) yesterday he said, "Most of the leaders are referring to the conference not only as a conference on terrorism but rather to promote the peace process and remove the stumbling blocks, including Israeli actions which have hurt the peace process."

How serious Arafat himself is about combating terrorism can be surmised from yesterday's revelation by military commentator Ze'ev Schiff in *Ha'aretz*. Mohammed Dahlan, the Palestinian Preventive Security chief in Gaza (and planner of the Munich massacre in 1972), knew well in advance of Hamas's intention to mount a major suicide operation, Schiff asserts. He neither arrested the Hamas "military wing" leaders nor tried to talk them out of perpetrating the atrocity. All he asked was that they postpone it until after the Israeli elections.

Even after the first bus bombing in Jerusalem on February 25, Dahlan did not arrest those responsible for masterminding the bombing, but continued negotiating with the Hamas terrorists, including Mohammed Diff, who heads Israel's wanted list.

The photo opportunities at the Sharm a-Sheikh summit will undoubtedly be impressive, and its declaration against violence, terrorism and all other hateful things will probably be unexceptionable. But Israel may find itself forced by this show of solidarity to accelerate its withdrawal, thus making itself more vulnerable to terrorism than ever.

## Facing up to Iran

LATE is better than never, so while Europe's call on Iran to denounce terrorism "once and for all" is long overdue, it is more than welcome. Words, however, are a cheap and devalued currency in the Middle East, and the European Union must follow up its initiative with enough clout to make the demand stick.

Initial gloating by certain Islamic circles in Iran over the terrorist onslaught visited on Jerusalem and Tel Aviv has seriously undermined the subsequent attempts by Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati to distance the government from clerical praise of the outrages. If Iran is indeed being rattled by mounting world outrage over its tacit approval and more than tacit support for mass murderers operating in the name of Islam, it still has a long way to go to redeem the country from the ranks of the lowest international pariahs.

Europe and Japan have long infuriated the US with their dogged pursuit of the policy of "constructive engagement" based on the idea that dialogue with Iran is more effective than isolating it. This is a policy which has its merits in certain cases but it has also been discredited by spectacular disasters in this century when "engagement" has become appeasement or, even worse, collusion with civilization's enemies. In the most recent example, from which Europe and Japan have been slow to learn, the world had to pay a heavy price to dismantle what commercial greed and hypocrisy had built by "constructive engagement" with Iraq.

Though the new European stand unfortunately comes too late to be of any comfort to the victims of Islamic terrorism, its timing at the end of Iranian elections has some merit. While analysts are still busy poring over the entrails of the convoluted and heavily manipulated poll, there are signs of growing disaffection with the fundamentalist lunatic fringe that enforces its right to be the Iranian government's "spiritual" guide. Iranian newspapers suggest that less than 30 percent of members of the outgoing assembly have retained their seats, and ultra-conservative clerics hopefully will be the main losers.

The alleged battle between the secular and the fundamental in Iran has always been something of a farce, linked to commercial public relations for gullible Western consumption. Yet it was interesting to see a woman reporter from the CNN network reporting openly yesterday from the streets and clerical colleges of Qom, the spiritual heartland of Shi'ite Islam in Iran. Of special interest were the theologians proclaiming that Islam has taken a wrong turn by its association with violence.

If this is a small sign of religious as well as secular reaction against the wild men of Islam, then it should tell the Europeans that it is the American policy of tough isolation of rogue governments, not appeasement, that achieves results. Until Iran, and Syria, make that "once and for all" turn from the road of terrorism masquerading as foreign policy, the diplomatic and commercial screws must be tightened, not loosened.

## OPINION



## Peres's extravaganza

The fingerprints on this week's international conference against terror are unmistakably Shimon Peres's. In the "war" on terror, this is Peres's natural battlefield.

Yet there is no escaping a basic question: How can a Peres-type "creative" concoction, the kind which made international oaths on the White House lawn, in Davos and Munich (Peres: "I am a Bavarian"), and which will now be adorned with exotic keffiyehs and golden *galabiyas*, contribute to the war against terror?

Does Israel, which exports experts and sophisticated anti-terror methods to the whole world, need FBI specialists, or a new edition of the useless Patriot in the form of explosive-sensing devices? And will Iran and Syria be impressed by this new Peres-Clinton extravaganza?

It is far more likely that at this very moment, bearded planners are preparing some blood-curdling "answer" to the challenge co-produced by the "big" and "small" Satans at Sharm a-Sheikh. To seasoned Israelis the exercise is transparent. The conference is indeed the opening shot of a battle - for Labor's reelection. Its results will contain as much real substance as the tanks now positioned, strictly for display, on the Green Line borders.

Its impact will be as lasting as the closure which will soon inevitably be lifted; as the detention of terrorists apprehended by Israel, who will be released in the next wave of Oslo-dictated pardons; and as the incarceration of those convicted in Arafat's courts and released within weeks.

It will be as lasting as the demolition of terrorists' houses - rebuilt almost instantaneously (in Hebron all the destroyed houses of slain Hamas killers have been restored) - and as the make-believe sealing of Hamas institutions (in Hebron, sealing orders are dated months after the scheduled delivery of the town to Arafat); and as the "separation" plan nobody knows how to implement.

The tragicomic character of this charade is well illustrated by considering a short list of steps that will never be taken. Neither the conference nor the government will consider them viable. Why? For the simple reason that any-

### ELYAKIM HA'ETZNI

thing really effective must clash with Oslo's hollow peace.

For starters, nobody will even suggest taking the only effective measure on which Arafat cannot cheat: the extradition of wanted murderers to Israel. Instead, Peres will demand Palestinian Police "arrests," which he knows is a farce. There will be no widening of the

It would be nice to say that the conference on terror will do no harm, even if it does no good. Alas, one cannot

narrow strips of land Israel has left itself on the Egyptian and Jordanian borders, strips which cannot effectively prevent the passage of terrorists, weapons and explosives. Israel must particularly have sufficient depth on the Gaza-Egypt border, where smuggling tunnels which begin on the Egyptian side end in areas under Arafat's control.

IT IS certain too that the closure will not be replaced by a computerized index of all persons photographed demonstrating against Israel, making condolence calls for slain terrorists, delivering speeches, writing, teaching, preaching, collecting funds and donating for purposes hostile to Israel, and their sympathizers, supporters, helpers and their families.

Anybody included on this black list would be barred from setting foot outside Zone A. Those apprehended would be deported or sentenced to three years' imprisonment - in preference to the mulling out of the morally wrong, politically harmful and altogether unsustainable collective punishment.

Such measures for punishing and deterring enemies would reward those who want to live in peace with us. But they will be automatically ruled out - because

### ARAFAT CANNOT TOLERATE THEM.

It is also certain that the "free passage" from Gaza to the Palestinian Authority areas in Judea and Samaria will not be closed, and that Israel will not cancel the VIP passes which give the highest security classification to those with the worst terrorist records. Nor will traffic from and to Gaza be restricted to escorted convoys only, the way Gush Katif's Jewish residents are forced to travel.

And there will be no expulsions or arrests affecting the base of the terrorist pyramid - the "political" wings, the institutions and societies for religion, education and charity - neither in the areas under our control, nor on Arafat's territory.

There will also be no end to releases of jailed terrorists, nor any controls put on incitement and hostile propaganda disseminated by the Palestinian media and in school textbooks and curricula. And no one will even dream of examining containers unloaded in Ashdod, destined for Gaza, in which the PA can import anything from small arms to armored vehicles.

There will be no mention of the vast quantities of cement trucked into the Palestinian cities of refuge. There is no control over how much of it is used for building bunkers and fortifications in the seven "Beiturs" situated on our doorstep.

It would be nice to be able to say that Wednesday's conference, while doing no good, will at least do no harm. Alas, even this is not true. The very fact that Arafat himself will be participating assures harm.

Arafat is the godfather of terrorism, the orator of the *jihad* speeches, the man who, just days ago, conducted a fake trial, thereby extricating the dispatcher of the suicide bombers from extradition to Israel.

Arafat is the leader who organized sympathy rallies, a 21-gun salute and condolences for the "Engineer," Ythye Ayyash. The mere fact of his appearance at the conference will render it fraudulent and deceptive.

Peres, architect of a show whose exterior glitters but whose core is rotten, again seems to have learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

The writer, a lawyer and former MK, is a resident of Kiryat Arba.

## Fit of fury from the right

### MISHA LOUVISH

Hamas might hope to succeed by killing so many Jews that even Peres and his government will have to halt the peace talks. They may more reasonably hope to succeed, however, by undermining support for Peres and ensuring an electoral victory for Binyamin Netanyahu and the right, who are

Why all the fuss about the premier's agreeing that Hamas is working for a Likud victory in our elections?

pledged to halt the Oslo process. Surely there is nothing controversial in this analysis, which relies on obvious facts.

Nor is it new: As *Post* reader I. Bar-Nir reminded us in his letter of March 8, prime minister Yitzhak Rabin made a comparison between the short-term policies of the Likud and those of Hamas. He wasn't, of course, impugning the motives of the right; he was merely referring to the de facto objective significance of its attitude. It is natural that right-wing politicians should feel uncomfortable

about the idea that their immediate tactical objectives and Hamas's are practically identical. But that is no excuse for wild talk of "blood libel" and dark hints of conspiracy.

As David Gilboa of the IBA news department has testified, it was the Israeli broadcasters who pressed for the interview with convicted terrorist Mohammed Abu Warda, for obvious professional reasons.

Having Prime Minister Peres watch the interview enhanced its interest. His reaction was as low-key as it could possibly be: he simply said he wasn't surprised by the story of Hamas's motivation, implying that he had heard it before.

Was he lying? His statement was confirmed on ITV's morning magazine by Justice Minister David Liba'i, who said it was based on information received by the government before the broadcast. Liba'i's evidence was repeated on the evening TV news.

On *Media File*, screened on TV's Second Channel on March 9, Roni Daniel from *Yediot Aharonot* said that he had heard similar views from Hamas spokesmen he had interviewed.

The right's propagandists would do well, therefore, to look for another whip to beat Shimon Peres with. This one is totally unconvincing.

The writer is a veteran member of the Labor movement.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### THE JEWS FROM ETHIOPIA

Sir, - No more applicants need apply for the 1996 Hutupa of the Year award. The award is being retired permanently in tribute to Minister of Absorption Yair Tzaban, whose comments on the problems of the Beta Israel community were reported on January 30.

Mr. Tzaban complains about government failure to consult the Ethiopian community about its needs. Mr. Tzaban has apparently forgotten that he was chairman of the Ministerial Commission of Inquiry on the Falash Mura issue. No Ethiopians were appointed to his committee, allegedly on the grounds that they could not be objective because their own relatives might be involved.

The article also states that Mr. Tzaban believes that the Ethiopian community's problems are compounded by lack of recognition from the rabbinate. One can only admire the artistry of Mr. Tzaban's hutupa in raising this issue. Rabbinic advisers to his committee urged that the Falash Mura who wish to return to Judaism be allowed to make aliyah. The supposedly liberal Labor and Meretz members of Mr. Tzaban's committee rejected the rabbis' recommendation, reversing the prior favorable decision of the Likud government Rabinstein Committee.

### UNIVERSAL TERROR

Sir, - It has been almost three months now since I returned to the US from a one-year post-doctorate at the Hebrew University, and I must say that I have missed reading the *Post*. Kol hakavod to your Internet edition!

Unfortunately, the news is a sad reminder of the darker side of life in Israel. I rode that same bus route No. 18 scores of times, especially on Sundays. (Of course, no place is

Moreover, as previously reported in *The Jerusalem Post*, the chief rabbinic committee on the spiritual absorption of Ethiopian Jews, as early as 1993, recognizes the community in Addis Ababa as a Jewish community. And no wonder; this religious community is *shomer shabbat*, *shomer kashrut*, prays daily in a synagogue it built itself, wears *kipot* and *tzitzit* and runs a *yeshiva*, which all the children attend. I think the problem for our devoutly secular and selectively liberal minister may be that the community suffers from too much rabbinic recognition, not too little.

Mr. Tzaban has been unable or unwilling to overcome the scandalously ineffective efforts of the Interior Ministry and Jewish Agency to grant immigration visas to the few members of this distressed Jewish community his committee was willing to accept. Fortunately, he has recently announced his retirement from politics. For Ethiopian Jews who were victimized by his ineptitude, the resignation is four years too late.

JACK A. ZELLER, Vice-President, Washington Association for Ethiopian Jews Silver Spring, Maryland.

### CYNICISM

Sir, - In the aftermath of the bombing of bus no. 18, I feel a strong sense of *dafni va*. Once again I hear the same reports on the radio and see the same horrific sights on the television.

Just as predictable are the statements by our leaders, especially the assertion that "this will stop the peace process." Since every new tragedy makes a mockery of the phrase, surely a more accurate and less offensive title would be "separation process" or "partition process." Let's call a spade a spade - there is a process in the works, and the best we can hope for is that somehow it will prevent our enemies from inflicting harm, and let us get on with our lives in relative safety. But to "console" bereaved families with the sentiment that despite the death of their loved ones, "the peace process will continue" is the height of cynicism.

SHULAMITH BERMAN Efrat.

### THE OLD 'POST'

Sir, - Perhaps Misha Louvish's defense of the "old" *Jerusalem Post* impartiality (Letters, February 25) would not have been so spirited had he taken the trouble to make the same survey of the signed op-ed articles as he did of the leading articles. The signed articles have many more readers than the editorials; in the signed articles, the "old" *Post* followed a policy of printing only those opposition viewpoints which it could "clobber" in another signed article. The last article left the greatest impression on the readers.

MACABEE DEAN Ramat Gan.

مركزنا للتحرير

Nasty  
pretense

# The Prison Odyssey of Sol Wachtler

In September 1993, Sol Wachtler, then 64, after resigning in disgrace as New York State's Chief Judge, pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 15 months in Federal prison for harassing Joy Silverman, a woman with whom he had had an affair. This nationally prominent jurist was about to get an inmate's view of the American system of crime and punishment. Following are excerpts from his prison diary, which Mr. Wachtler intends to incorporate into a book. He kept the journal at the medium-security Federal Correctional Institution in Butner, N.C., and later at the Federal Medical Center in Rochester, Minn. At both prisons, Mr. Wachtler underwent treatment for manic depression, the disorder he was diagnosed as having at the time of his crime.

By SOL WACHTLER

**S**ept. 28, 1993 — Day 1 I wish I had the gift of description — the ability to find the words to describe my feelings this morning. As I was facing this apogee of my shame, I was hoping that there would be no press to greet me — no pictures taken to feed the hungry maw of the tabloids — to further embarrass my family and friends.

No such luck. As the vehicle transporting me pulled up to the prison in Butner, N.C., the first thing I saw was the cold, gleaming and menacing razor-wire fence surrounding the squat gray buildings. The second was the cameras and microphones. "Not nearly the number of reporters who were waiting for Jim Bakker, the evangelist," the warden later told me, "but then again, he was from around here."

I was met by four guards who searched and handcuffed me. The duffel bag that my wife, Joan, and I had packed so methodically the day before was taken from me, and I was led, hands manacled behind my back, down a long corridor to the prison receiving office.

After being photographed and fingerprinted, I was introduced to the stunning invasion known as the "strip search." Of course, I knew what a strip search was — I had written about this procedure in more than one of my court opinions. But knowing what it is, and even knowing the necessity for it, does not prepare you for the degrading experience of being stripped naked in front of strangers who then examine every crevice and orifice of your body. I had been told that an essential reason for the strip search was to humiliate the newly arrived prisoner as part of his introduction to prison life. Dehumanize would be a better word.



Sol Wachtler enters prison in Butner, N.C.

I expected to be led to a cell. What I didn't expect was to be put in solitary confinement, which, at Butner, is the same as disciplinary segregation. But that's where they led me.

Ten years ago, as a judge on the New York Court of Appeals, seated in my magnificent, mahogany-paneled chambers, I wrote an opinion in the case of *Wilkinson v. Skinner*. Wilkinson was a prisoner suing

*Skinner*, who was a county sheriff. The prisoner was complaining that being put in segregation for a five-day period constituted cruel and unusual punishment. Writing for the court, I observed: "Merely confining an inmate in a segregated cell does not constitute cruel and unusual punishment. There are, of course, some cells that are so subhuman as to constitute such punishment even for a very brief confinement. One day in some cells might be constitutionally intolerable." When I wrote that opinion, would I ever have dreamed that one day I would be confined in segregation — not for five days but for well over a month?

## Solitary Confinement

I was soon to learn just how intolerable such confinement could be when I was escorted to "seclusion" — a row of 10-foot-by-12-foot cells, each with its own steel sink and toilet. Against one wall there was a metal rack covered by a three-inch-thick, cloth-covered pad — this was the bed. The door was solid steel, with a small vertical slot to allow the guard to peer in. A knee-high horizontal slot was used for food trays.

Before being locked in my cell, I was placed in a shower stall with a steel barred door and again strip-searched. Then I was issued an orange canvas jumpsuit with matching sneakers.

I was again handcuffed and led to my cell. And then I heard them — the occupants of the other "seclusion" cells. One, called "dogman" by the guards, howled like a wounded canine, another screamed "Shut up!" Another sang a tuneless melody with the words "silver threads and golden needles." Several kept screaming "Officer! Officer!" and all seemed preoccupied with a need for "smokes" and "matches." Many simply pounded on their doors. One shouted about the shortcomings of totalitarianism, and still another told the

Continued on page 4



By the time New Yorkers voted, it seemed hardly necessary. Above, faceless Republicans on Manhattan's East Side on Thursday.

## Early Returns

# First, the Winner; Now, the Voting

By RICHARD L. BERKE

**A**FTER a buildup that lasted three years, the Republican Presidential campaign came and went in a four-week blur that had a shorter run than Colin Powell's book tour.

Primaries in most of the largest states are still ahead, of course, and Senator Bob Dole still has to contend with Patrick J. Buchanan and Steve Forbes, who could even win some contests — and who vow to torment him all the way to San Diego in August.

But on Friday, Mr. Dole pronounced himself the "presumptive nominee," and even Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Forbes could not quarrel with that title.

It was a faster-paced primary season than even Mr. Dole had hoped for. And it was far from what the

leaders of both parties envisioned two decades ago, when they sought to replace the smoke-filled back rooms at political conventions with a system where ordinary voters could have more say.

Because the process was compressed by the early schedule of contests this year, the group that actually voted for Mr. Dole may not have been representative of the Republican electorate — or any electorate: When he emerged Tuesday night as the likely nominee, Mr. Dole had received the votes of 1,108,567 people in 18 states — about the population of Idaho.

## The Verdict, Please

It was as if the Republicans who voted were antsy jurors who did not want to get home late for dinner: they rendered their verdict with great haste — and not that much deliberation.

They did not have much choice. Although the cootenders did their usual fawning over voters in Iowa and New Hampshire, they barely had time to do more than broadcast advertising in the many states that held rapid-fire, often simultaneous, contests. By trying to upstage one another by moving up their primary dates, New York and other states accomplished the opposite of what they had intended: they gave Iowa and New Hampshire an even more disproportionate role than before in choosing the nominee.

Mr. Dole, for example, spent less than 24 hours in New York before flying off to the next primary. The closest he came to Delaware was through a phone hookup; that state and Louisiana moved their contests so far up that Mr. Dole and most other candidates stayed away, fearful that voters in New Hampshire,

Continued on page 3

## Survival Instinct

# Alone or Not, Israel Strikes Back

By SERGE SCHMEMMANN

**A**FTER the fourth human bomb, this one in the heart of Tel Aviv, brought to 61 the toll in tattered victims, the anger and grief turned to despair. Many Israelis who had put their faith in the peace with Palestinians felt betrayed — by Yasir Arafat, by Shimon Peres, by all the foreign leaders who had insisted that peace would bring them security. Once again, many seemed to feel, in their immediate anguish, that Israel was waging "total war" and was alone.

Radio stations shifted to patriotic songs from the early days of the Israeli state, when survivors of the Holocaust defiantly plowed fields with rifles on their backs and the national slogan was, "All the nation is an army." The Government's crisis measures revived the old dream of totally separating Jews from Arabs. Soldiers sealed off Palestinian towns and villages and bulldozers began raising walls along the "green line" between Israel and the West Bank.

Capturing the public mood, Benjamin Netanyahu, the leader of the conservative Likud, declared, "The idea that Arafat will be our subcontractor to fight terrorism won't work."

A Government official, watching messages of support and condolence pour in from around the world, growled: "They're always sorry for us when we're victims. Where we want their support is when we strike back. It'll be ugly, and I hope they don't start squealing then."

Yes, ugly events seem inevitable. Israeli tanks stand watch at the West Bank frontier. There is talk of deportations, of destruction of houses, of hardship for Palestinians barred from working in Israel. But this is not the whole story, for by week's end the outside pressure on Israel wasn't so much to restrain its attacks against Islamic militants, but to restrain its impulse to act alone. American intelligence agents were urging Israelis and Palestinians to share information for the crackdown on Hamas; President Clinton said he

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Palestinian police search for a suspected Hamas militant in Gaza City.

## Foreign Intrigue

### Ireland and the Middle East pose political perils for a peacemaker President.

By Alison Mitchell

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## Allens

### Around the world, the 'wretched refuse' of distant shores gets, at best, an ambivalent welcome.

By Timothy Christenfeld

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## Due Bills

### Republicans in Congress struggle to fashion an agenda and a strategy to get it passed.

By Adam Clymer



# The World

## Running After the Cold War

By ALISON MITCHELL

WASHINGTON  
It was only two months ago that President Clinton unveiled a concise election-year vision of a post-cold war foreign policy: the United States as "the world's very best peacemaker."

He went on, in his State of the Union address, to cite his own achievements in this role: restoration of a fragile democracy in Haiti, the cease-fire in Northern Ireland, an American-brokered peace pact in Bosnia and a series of agreements in the Middle East.

Indeed, a campaign video for Mr. Clinton shows the handshake between Yasir Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin on the White House lawn; it is still being shown months after the Israeli prime minister's assassination.

And this week, the President will attend a summit of world leaders in Egypt to review anti-terrorism measures and try to revive a Middle East peace process shattered by bomb attacks on Israel.

If Mr. Clinton's high-profile diplomacy shows the immense personal stock he is investing in peace in the Middle East, the urgent need for such a summit also demonstrates the political dangers of measuring foreign policy success in fragile triumphs in long, intractable wars abroad.

The peace in Northern Ireland suffered a setback last month when bombs ended a 17-month cease-fire. And a debate is already simmering inside NATO over whether the Administration's plans to withdraw American peace-keeping troops from Bosnia this year will allow the violence to flare once more.

To a large extent, the problem for Mr. Clinton is that without the organizing principle of the Soviet threat it is harder to formulate and carry out foreign policy and to articulate America's interests overseas to an electorate turning inward.



Clinton and President Aristide: trying to help.



With Irish Prime Minister John Bruton: still talking.



With Rabin: making a personal investment.

"I don't think what is happening is a mark that the U.S. has been pursuing misguided policies," said Richard H. Ullman, a professor of international affairs at Princeton University. "They are hard issues."

Just last week Mr. Clinton's National Security Adviser, Anthony Lake, felt compelled to answer those who, he said, "in a curious bit of cold war nostalgia complain that our policy lacks a single overarching principle." In an address at George Washington University, Mr. Lake said: "The same ideas that were under attack by Communism and before that under attack by Fascism remain under attack today as we have seen in the Middle East. Now as then we are defending an idea that has many names — civility, tolerance, liberty pluralism — but shows a constant face, the face of a democratic society."

Still, the specter of missiles pointing toward America had a way of concentrating the mind. The American public had a guiding standard in judging a President's: hopeful on foreign policy: how he would handle the Soviet nuclear threat. Was Barry Goldwater too trigger happy? Would Geraldine Ferraro, the first woman to seek the Vice Presidency, be able to push the button?

### Simpler Concerns

But these days, the public's interest in foreign policy has turned more toward issues like trade and immigration. And most Americans may simply be asking: Is the President strong and constant, someone who won't embarrass them abroad or lead American soldiers into unwanted entanglements?

Certainly those concerns are what Senator Bob Dole has been playing to on the campaign trail when he stresses "experience, leadership, judgment."

Even when he was a candidate in 1992, Mr. Clinton's lack of military service raised doubts among some voters about his ability to be Commander-in-Chief. Then, in his first 18 months in office, he did little to reassure them that he could be strong and steady.

In Somalia, the Administration expanded a humanitarian mission into an undeclared war against one clan leader, Mohammed Farah Aidid, and then retreated after 18 Army Rangers died in fighting. In Haiti, when Mr. Clinton dispatched the U.S.S. Harlan County

### It helps to be head of state when running for President. But things can fall apart fast.

to Port-au-Prince to help make way for the return of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the ship turned back when confronted with armed thugs on the docks.

And while Mr. Clinton said in campaigning that would use air strikes to stop ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, he backed away in the face of opposition from the European allies as the brutal Balkan war dragged on.

Ultimately, the Administration found in both Haiti and Bosnia a mix of force and diplomacy that is working for now.

Mr. Aristide returned to power under the aegis of American troops. A peace accord policed in part by American peacekeepers was achieved in Bosnia. In his State of the Union address Mr. Clinton translated his

foreign policy — before variously described in such turgid diplomates as multilateralism or enlargement of the sphere of democracy — as "the fight for freedom and peace throughout the world."

Foreign policy analysts still debate sharply whether Mr. Clinton has articulated a role for the United States that can command public support. They also question some of his foreign policy priorities.

"The Secretary of State has been to Damascus 17 times and Beijing once," said Casimir Yost, director of Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. "That seems to me the measure of the priority attached at senior levels of the Administration to these issues and relationships." Mr. Yost says the United States should put more emphasis on Japan and China and less on places like Northern Ireland.

It is China, after all, that now looms as perhaps the most delicate challenge for American diplomacy, with conflicts bubbling over China's missile tests near Taiwan, human rights abuses, trade issues and Administration charges that China has exported materials used to make nuclear and chemical weapons.

For now, Mr. Clinton's aides revel in what they describe as the President's new comfort with exercising American power. They note that he has been willing to take unpopular stands such as dispatching American troops to Bosnia and has pursued peace even in the face of setbacks and risks.

"Every President, every candidate for President has particular tests," said one Administration official. "I think what people look for with President Clinton is strength and standing on principle. And to the degree he does that — even though the particulars may be tough — it's an important aspect of his overall picture in the country as a leader."

### Alien Expressions

## Wretched Refuse Is Just the Start



A sinister view, by the cartoonist E. S. Bisbee in Harper's Weekly in 1871, of immigrants boarding "The Modern Ark" for America.

By TIMOTHY CHRISTENFELD

BOB DOLE, in his campaign for the Republican Presidential nomination, talks about illegal immigration as a "flood." Patrick J. Buchanan calls it an "invasion." This meeting of the metaphors offers a quick summary of the images that Americans invoke in discussions of immigration. Other countries have their own metaphors.

In the United States, as in many European countries, one consistently neutral metaphor for immigration is water. Immigration is a flow, a flood, a tide, a wave, an influx, a stream, a tsunami, or, after restrictions, a trickle. Immigrants are drained from their homelands. They wash up like "wretched refuse" on the shores. The country is inundated, swamped, submerged, engulfed, awash.

Another common metaphor is the nation as a house and the immigrant as a visitor knocking at the door or the window, standing at the threshold or in the backyard.

A more menacing metaphor, especially popular in the United States, is the military one. Two weeks ago during the candidates' debate in New Hampshire, Mr. Buchanan said, "When you have one, two, three million people walking across your border every year, breaking your laws, you have an invasion." (Of course, it isn't an invasion if the "people walking across your border every year" happen to be the 250,000 essential farm workers approved by the House Agriculture Committee last week.)

The proponents of Proposition 187 in California, the successful 1994 ballot initiative to cut off social services to illegal aliens, also relied on military metaphors. Ruth Coffey, the head of Stop Immigration Now, said just before the election, "I have no intention of being the

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object of 'conquest,' peaceful or otherwise, by Latinos, Asians, blacks, Arabs or any other group of individuals who have claimed my country."

This rhetoric of immigration as invasion has roots in the nativist movements of antebellum America, which culminated in the Know Nothing Party. In 1850, a Know Nothing paper, declared that Catholic immigrants "march and countermarch with the precision of regular soldiers, at the tap of the Popish drum." (If the Know Nothings had prevailed, Mr. Buchanan's Irish ancestors would not have been allowed to come to the United States.)

### Weeds, Whelps, Dirt

British politicians, with a strong sense of their country as an island, also use water metaphors for immigration. But while those who wish to appear neutral talk about tides and waves and flows, those who oppose immigration use more insidious liquid metaphors.

In 1978, Margaret Thatcher commented that she could understand that British citizens might feel "swamped" by immigration. Recently her words have been echoed by Tory extremist Stuart Millson: "We have had an unnatural multicultural society imposed on us. Creeping into every part of our national life today is a wetness and weediness that would have been unimaginable 50 years ago."

While mainstream Germans, like other Europeans, talk about immigration in terms of rivers and floods and doors and windows, far-right Germans speak of filth. One neo-Nazi leader in Chemnitz, talking about immigration in 1992, said, "In the Hitler era, Germany was something good, something clean, something big and powerful. Now we're covered with dirt." Another Chemnitz extremist said, "We're going to clean up this country. No foreigners, no filth, no drugs, no pornography, and work for everyone."

These metaphors of pollution expose not only contempt for immigrants but also a fixation on a pure nation, which has few close parallels in Britain or the United States.

In China the uncomplimentary expression for a migrant laborer is "zaizi," meaning a young animal or whelp, but with the same feeling as "bastard" in English. The implication: foreigners are, like bunny rabbits, promiscuous.

What's striking about Japanese vocabulary for immigration is that there hardly is any, as befits a traditionally closed society. The one word the Japanese do use to refer to either immigrants or emigrants is "imin," and it is borrowed from Chinese.

How people talk about perceived threats gives clues about how they view their homeland. As water metaphors reveal a nation-as-island, and filth metaphors reveal an obsession with purity, the French habit of discussing immigration with metaphors of disease reveals an implicit conception of France as a body, and particularly as a female body.

### The Fragile Body

In France, the far right National Front's original program, in 1972, stated that the party opposes immigration because "it imperils the health of the French." Another reactionary leader wrote in 1985 of "the immigration plague," and said that immigration "could become a mortal threat." Jean-Marie Le Pen, the National Front's leader, wrote in 1984 that "some French regions were literally gangrenous because of the foreign invasion."

Mr. Le Pen then extended his metaphor one step further, suggesting that France is threatened not just by disease but also by rape. "Tomorrow," Mr. Le Pen wrote, "the immigrants will be moving into your house, eating your food and sleeping with your wife, your daughter or your son."

## Israel Asks, Can 'Them' Be 'Us'?

Continued from page 1

would attend a regional strategy meeting in Egypt this week to confront terror.

To fear being alone again was a natural reaction for Israel's Jews. From their history, they have long taken the lesson that in the end they can depend only on themselves. They had staved off hostile Arab armies alone, and more than once. And even if the Lebanon invasion of 1982 and the Palestinian "intifada" in ensuing years showed the limits of raw force, there remains among Israelis an enduring sense that goes beyond security or revenge: that their country, whatever the cost, can never allow itself to appear weak to the Arabs by abandoning the option of force.

And now there seems a new danger. "Israel now stands at the front line of what threatens to become a world war between Islamic fanaticism and the humanistic world," the writer Amos Oz, a prominent advocate of peace, wrote in Yediot Ahronot. Arrest every Hamas and Islamic Holy War operative, urged the conservative newspaper Maariv in an editorial; confiscate their possessions, if necessary pursue them into Palestinian territories, give them no respite. "All this is a clear-minded opinion, without hysteria, with the knowledge that it is us, or them."

Yet as the days passed, some people began to ask what this meant.

"Them" was no longer the massed hostility of all the Arab states and their supporters in the Communist and "non-aligned" bloc. The Palestinian Authority, Jordan, Egypt and many other Arab states joined in condemning the Islamic fundamentalists (who threaten them no less than Israel), and the United States rushed to reassure Israel.

Even as he ordered harsh reprisals against the Palestinians, Prime Minister Shimon Peres repeatedly asked whether there was any realistic alternative to the process of making peace with the Palestinians that he began with secret meetings in Oslo in 1983.

"If it was not for Oslo, there would still be intifada, there would be war in Lebanon, there would be people

with knives," he said. And Israel would once again be alone, he might have added.

Many people also began to notice that despite the great anguish everyone felt, there had been no mass demonstrations as in the past and no attacks on Arab neighborhoods. Mr. Peres sank in the public opinion polls, but only to levels that prevailed before the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin created a wave of sympathy.

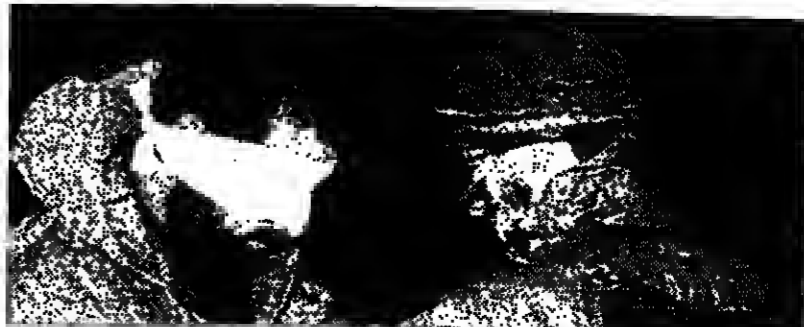
People here also know that the Israel of 1996 is far different from that of 1948. Its army is the strongest in the Middle East, its economy is larger than those of its neighbors combined, and booming. It has successfully absorbed 700,000 new immigrants in five years. Kings, presidents and prime ministers are almost weekly visitors to Jerusalem.

And Israel's enemies are no longer "the Arabs" who sought to wipe Israel out of the Middle East, but a small clutch of violent zealots who can hurt, but not destroy, the Jewish homeland.

To be sure, the dangers raised by the bombings are far from over, and there is no telling who will win the May 29 election or whether the Israeli-Palestine peace will survive. The massive Israeli crackdown is fomenting new tensions in the Palestinian lands, making Mr. Arafat's standing increasingly tenuous. Above all, there remains the chance of more bombings.

But already some things are clear. "The refraining from hysteria and the subdued internalized tears — these are the two components of the Israeli citizen's language of mourning in the middle of the 1990s," wrote the popular Yediot Ahronot in an editorial. "It is an Israeli who has witnessed a change in his standard of living in the last 10 years, in expectations, in a feeling of the strength, security and stability of the country in which he lives, where he is now proud to live."

"These are very fundamental things that endow all of us with the feeling that the country is not 'finished,' no matter how many buses will explode and how many beastly acts will occur. This is where the Israeli silence comes from."



An Israeli soldier arrests a suspected Hamas militant in the West Bank.

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An Early Look

Section Devotion

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# The Nation

## G.O.P. Congress Faces A Downsized Agenda

By ADAM CLYMER

REPUBLICANS expect attention to shift back to Congress this week after the Super Tuesday primaries. If it does, the lesson will be what a difference a year makes.

Last year the Republicans in Congress had an agenda and a strategy. Most of the bills on the agenda did not become law, and the strategy of using Government closings and a potential default on the national debt to force President Clinton to sign them not only failed; it backfired. Even so, it was the most purposeful first session of a Congress since 1965.

But so far this year, when Congress has not been out of town resting, it has proceeded at a desultory pace marked by false starts and long weekends. "After last year, what fascinates me is how much the whole effort has become ad hoc," said Thomas Mann, a Congress-

ignored the environmentalist Republicans. Facing defeat, the bill was awkwardly withdrawn.

Other efforts may go further. Republican leaders in both Houses have made it clear that the line-item veto measure, which would enable Presidents to veto particular spending items they dislike rather than an entire bill, will emerge from a House-Senate conference where it has languished for months. And House Republicans expect to go along, largely, with the Senate's more limited approach to reforming lawsuits.

### The Buchanan Effect

There are other non-Contract items with a fair chance of becoming law, like reducing levels of legal immigration, making health insurance portable from job to job, and raising the ceiling on how much Social Security recipients may earn without losing benefits.

Those items all relate to the squeeze on the middle class. Inspired, or frightened, by the campaign of Patrick J. Buchanan, politicians in Congress have tentatively added "downsizing" and "corporate layoffs" to the political vocabulary.

That is where the Congressional debate may be going. Even if this session ends up producing relatively little in the way of law, it cannot escape being a battleground of policy and politics.

That has been inevitable after last week's Presidential primaries made Bob Dole, the majority leader, the Republicans' presumptive nominee. He will be paying campaign visits to Capitol Hill in the coming weeks, seeking to show again that he is someone who can bring enemies together and get things done.

His status as nominee-to-be will help unify Republicans, especially in the Senate, but it will also unite Democrats against him. The last time a Senate majority leader was on a national ticket was in 1960. Lyndon Johnson, then the Vice Presidential nominee, contrived a post-convention session to trumpet Democratic accomplishments. But nothing much was accomplished.

Democratic disunity between House and Senate was a big problem then. This year comparable Republican differences may derail Mr. Dole's effort to pass the health insurance legislation. House Republicans may not let the issue come to a vote without adding enough provisions to dim its chances.

Mr. Dole, however, can control what bills come up



In December, before the primaries, Senator Bob Dole passes House Speaker Newt Gingrich on Capitol Hill.

### Last year the Republicans had a strategy. This year they have long weekends.

sional scholar at the Brookings Institution. "They don't seem to have a clue about how to extricate themselves."

Last week, the only wisp of strategy seemed to be the old failed brinkmanship. But while a year ago it may have been rational to expect President Clinton to cave in, it is a discredited approach today because he held firm. Most Republicans expect their side to blink, pass a stopgap spending bill and raise the legal ceiling on the Government's debt — and without significant White House concessions.

Some Republicans do talk hopefully of reviving the stalled clauses of the Contract With America. But when they tried to put forward a bill to reduce the impact of Government regulations last week, the effort failed because the freshmen put in charge of the measure

in the Senate, though he cannot stop the Democrats from trying to change the subject. Since amendments in the Senate do not have to be related to the bill under consideration, he can expect Democrats to try to add a measure raising the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15 an hour to bills on grazing fees, energy, Social Security earnings and almost anything else.

"We're going to make the minimum wage one of the highest priorities in the next several weeks," Senator Thomas A. Daschle, the minority leader, said Wednesday. Senator Edward M. Kennedy is introducing legislation to give tax breaks to companies that invest in their workers, and to make layoff-inducing mergers harder under the antitrust laws.

### (Yawn) Some Pace

So far, however, this hardly looks like a new session of Congress. Last week Congress was preoccupied with last year's work — spending bills for the fiscal year that began Sept. 30, and stopgap legislation, lasting only through March 29, to prevent a Government default on its debt. Spending and debt are sure to dominate the calendar until the next vacation break — two weeks off

for Passover and Easter starting March 30. Republicans contend that this pace is normal. Representative John A. Boehner of Ohio, chairman of the Republican caucus in the House, said, "We are going to have a much more limited agenda this year, knowing that the focus will be on the Presidential race."

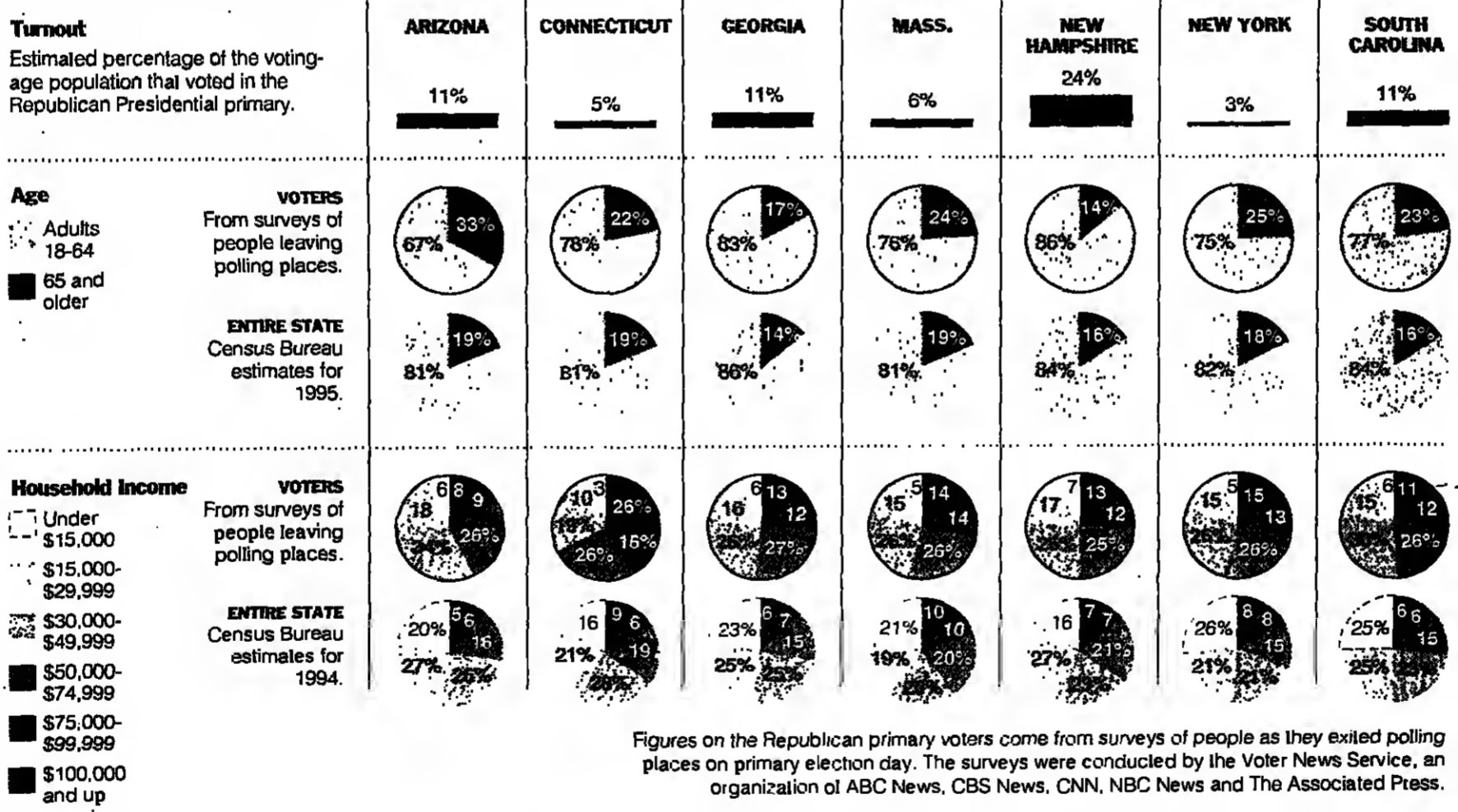
But that is not a matter of history or necessity. In 1992, for example, a Democratic Congress passed and President Bush signed major legislation on trade, energy, higher education, aid to the former Soviet Union and a nuclear arms treaty.

Historically, the second sessions of each two-year Congress almost always produce more laws than do first sessions. The reason is simple. Committees use the first 12 to 18 months of Congress to work over bills, hold hearings, see which compromises bring votes, negotiate with the White House, and then finally act on something complex in time to tell the voters they got something done.

So far, only one bill acted on in 1996 followed that pattern: the telecommunications bill. But, considering that next to nothing became law in 1995, this second session will likely follow history and count as more productive than the first.

## First, the Winner; Now, the Voting

### An Early Look at Primary Voters



Continued from page 1

protecting their prerogative as the first primary state, would punish them if they divided their attention. And while California made a grand effort to schedule an earlier primary this year, in March instead of June, it was trumped by other states that went even earlier.

It is one thing for people to complain about an endless campaign; but it is quite another to see the campaign end when it had barely begun.

"This is madness," said Michael S. Dukakis, the Democratic nominee in 1988 who recalled that his nomination was not clinched at least until after the New York primary, which was then April 19. "There's something to be said for giving a people a chance to look at the candidates over an extended period of time. A system which puts huge emphasis on two relatively small states and relegates California again to irrelevance just doesn't make sense to me."

### Short on Devotion

The small constituency that did vote for Mr. Dole in state after state consisted mostly of Republicans who described themselves as moderates and said they were neither inspired nor devoted to the majority leader but thought he had the best shot to oust President Clinton. Surveys of voters leaving the polling places also showed that the 72-year-old Mr. Dole drew a far larger proportion of elderly voters than his rivals.

There is a compelling case to be made that Mr. Dole might well have captured the nomination anyway if the primaries were more spread out. But some Republicans argue that had the contests been more

scattered, other candidates might have had more time to raise money and compete more successfully.

Part of the problem is that the national political parties have lost their grip on the states. In an effort by the Republican powers to reassert themselves, chairman Haley Barbour has appointed a committee that at the party's convention in August will recommend possible changes in the system for the campaign in 2000.

"This thing turned into an insect dance, where all the candidates got on top of each other without having enough time to get acquainted with the states or the regional issues," said Jim Nicholson, a Republican national committeeman from Colorado who is heading the commission.

Mr. Nicholson said he met with former Gov. Lamar Alexander of Tennessee, who was one of a handful of candidates who complained of being disadvantaged by the process, before he dropped out. Speaking of Mr. Alexander's best showing — a close third behind Mr. Dole in New Hampshire — Mr. Nicholson said: "He was falling like a duck shot out of the air because he didn't have time to capitalize on it."

On Tuesday night, as Republican leaders were already proclaiming Mr. Dole the likely nominee, the 10 largest states had not held primaries, and 80 percent of the national convention delegates had not been selected. Even those that did drew only a fraction of the Republican electorate. In Iowa, for all its purported influence, only about 100,000 of the state's 570,000 registered Republicans went to the caucuses. For voters, it was akin to the television networks announcing the winner on election night before polls close in the West.

By the time the candidates rolled to New York on Thursday, that primary was all but an afterthought:

Mr. Alexander and Senator Richard G. Lugar had quit after eight states voted for Mr. Dole on Tuesday.

While the likely nominee is often apparent early on — particularly among Republicans, whose rules make it hard for long-shot candidates to amass delegates — it is still striking that the nomination could be clinched within a month of the first voting, which this year was the Louisiana caucuses on Feb. 8. In 1992, Bill Clinton, still dogged by Edmund G. Brown Jr., did not seem the certain nominee until he won New York in April.

### Early Money

There were other unanticipated side effects: Because candidates knew that the nominating process would be so short, the run-up became unusually long. Candidates devoted more than a year to raising millions of dollars, knowing that they would not have time once the actual voting started. So far, they have spent a total of more than \$150 million.

The problems this year have added new urgency to the perennial call for a new system. One solution cited by Mr. Nicholson would be an orderly system of regional primaries that would not permit one candidate to lock up the nomination too swiftly.

As much as he has ruffled the Republicans' chaos this year, Senator Christopher Dodd of Connecticut, general chairman of the Democratic Party, said he too would push for a more equitable system: "It's hard to find anything that really recommends it at all."

But voters who may feel cheated out of participating and not simply courted by the candidates have one small comfort: The nation is about to embark on the longest general election campaign ever.

## Mr. Forbes's Modest Plan

By DAVID CAY JOHNSTON

STEVE FORBES has ridiculed suggestions that he is spending millions on a campaign for President just because his proposed flat tax would cut his tax bill.

"My campaign will cost me far more than the benefits I'd get from the flat tax," the New Jersey Republican said last month.

"The whole thing on tax returns is a diversion," he told Iowa voters, according to The San Francisco Chronicle. "I will spend 200 times what I would save on the flat tax on this campaign."

But tax experts say that on the day his flat tax became law, Mr. Forbes's tax liabilities would fall by \$240 million, a sum based on a published estimate that his net worth is \$438.9 million. Over Mr. Forbes's lifetime, his proposal could save him and his heirs \$1.9 billion in taxes, according to Citizens for Tax Justice, a research group that opposes the current tax system favors the rich.

The reason for most of these savings is an aspect of Mr. Forbes's proposal that was not

### What's \$25 million on a campaign if it knocks off a \$240 million estate tax?

mentioned when he announced his candidacy and has rarely surfaced since: the Forbes flat tax would eliminate estate taxes.

Mr. Forbes's campaign press secretary, Gretchen Morgenson, said, "Steve's comments on what he would save are based on his income" as disclosed to the Federal Elections Commission "and based on the taxes saved under the flat tax versus the investment he has made in the campaign."

Mr. Forbes, 48, inherited most of his fortune from his father, Malcolm S. Forbes, but his share was reduced by the estimated \$60 million the estate paid the Internal Revenue Service, plus another \$16.9 million in New Jersey estate taxes.

Mr. Forbes will not talk about how much he is worth, but the January issue of Fortune estimated his net worth at \$438.9 million. Ms. Morgenson called the amount "preposterous."

The Federal estate tax paid by the estate on a fortune of that size is \$240 million, although the law allows individuals to use gifts, trusts and other ways to reduce the value of their estates. The \$1.9 billion estimated by Citizens for Tax Justice takes what tax experts call a dynamic look at Mr. Forbes's taxes, assuming that his fortune grows at 10 percent annually for the next 30 years and taking into account both his proposed 17 percent flat tax on wages and his plan to eliminate estate and capital gains taxes.

Mr. Forbes's chances of winning the Presidency appear remote, but his spending, when viewed from the risk-reward perspective of an investor, looks shrewd. If he spends \$25 million, and his flat tax becomes law, wiping out a \$240 million estate tax liability, the return on his investment would be almost 10 to 1. Over his lifetime, the return would be 76 to 1, based on the Citizens for Tax Justice calculations, which were confirmed by the accounting firm of Price Waterhouse.

# The Prison Odyssey of Judge Wachtler

Continued from page 1

guards, in graphic terms, what they could expect if they didn't bring him some toilet paper — soon.

One of the guards told me that I could expect this clamor to continue unabated, since most of the inmates in the isolation cells were either mentally ill or disciplinary problems or both.

"When can I leave?" I asked.  
"When the doctors are through with you and decide it is safe for you to join the general population."

Dinner has just been slipped through the door by a pair of disembodied hands in rubber gloves. There is no chair or table in my cell, so I eat sitting on the steel shelf, which I will use for a bed, using my lap as a table. I feel aboriginal. The meal consists of two leathery meat patties, a portion of very oily fried potatoes, and what appears to be cabbage in a cream sauce. Everything is served cold, but I am hungry, so I eat it all with my plastic spoon from the Styrofoam tray.

**Sept. 30** This morning I was awakened by an overpowering stench. The toilets had backed up. Raw sewage gushes from the other cells into mine. As I raise my feet and sit on my slab bed, the word Danteques comes to mind.

I was asked if I had any fear for my safety. I told them the only inmates I would fear would be those whose appeals were unsuccessful in my court — a fear that one of them might take the loss personally.

I was assured that most of the inmates were from this part of the country and none had dealings with the New York State correctional system. That turned out to be untrue. But I was oblivious to any such danger as I was led in handcuffs into the general population.

I was immediately struck by the enormous size of most of the inmates. Bulging biceps, bull necks. I wondered whether these giants came into prison in that condition or got that way working out on the many free-weight piles in the prison yard.

While I was pondering this, one of them came over to me and said: "Hello, Judge. My name is Sanders. Name sound familiar?"

"I can't say that it does," I said, thrusting my hands in my pocket so he wouldn't see them tremble.

"Does People v. Paul Sanders ring a bell?"  
"Should it?"

"I was before your court 12 years ago. I've been here for 8. I did the same thing you did: kidnapped a lady."

I started to correct him as to my crime, but thought better of it.

"You ruled in my favor," he said.  
"Pleased to meet you," I said with relief.

A fellow approached me with a court paper bearing my name as Chief Judge. It was a certificate denying a convict named Alexander Anderson permission to appeal to the Court of Appeals. It was attached to a letter signed by Stuart Cohen, a former law clerk of mine, now deputy clerk of the Court of Appeals.

Pointing to my name on the order, he smiled broadly and said, "Do you know this fellow?" There was no hostility in his voice, just pointed sarcasm.

I smiled weakly and said, "You must be Alexander Anderson."

He smiled back and, sensing my discomfort, said: "Hey man, you gotta do what you think is right."

**Nov. 6** There are many people here in Butner who don't belong here. A fellow named Bobby who walks the halls seeing his "dead buddy" has been found incompetent to stand trial for five years. He should be in a mental hospital; so should Ziggy, who has been here for a decade doing what they call the "Thorazine shuffle." But there are others who do belong here.

There is the sex offender who, with his female companion, abducted children, molested and then killed them. Because the state where he was prosecuted could not protect him from a hostile prison population, he'll be spending several life sentences in Federal prisons.

Last week I was seated at lunch next to a pleasant enough fellow who seemed to be a parish to other inmates. After lunch I was told that he too was in the sex offender unit. He was convicted of murder and necrophilia — that is, the day after murdering a woman, he dug up the body of his victim for the purpose of having sex with her. I will not eat with him again.

**Nov. 21** Today was like any other Sunday at Butner. This afternoon all the prisoners returned to their units for the 4 o'clock count. Our evening meal followed. I took my turn on the pill line, called my wife, Joan, and at about 7:30 went to my cell. I had intended to listen to my radio with the earplugs and then sleep.

At about 8:05, I was stabbed twice in the back. I was lying on my left side. I don't know whether I had dozed off, or was simply lingering on the edge of

sleep, when my pillow was folded over my face and I felt two strong punches in the right center of my back. I got to my feet in time to see my cell door close behind someone bolting from my cell. Cell doors are not locked in the mental health unit.

As I turned on my light, I felt my undershirt sticking to my back. I knew that I was bleeding. I opened my door, but saw no one in the hall.  
I shouted for help.

As soon as I was in the prison hospital I was examined — not by a doctor but by a physician's assistant. He told me that the wounds were superficial, that they did not penetrate the chest cavity, and that it did not appear that any internal organs had been damaged. The assistant then put stitches in the wounds — no anesthetic. I was then X-rayed and consigned to protective custody — another euphemism for seclusion, which is a euphemism for the "hole," which is a name for hell.

**Nov. 22** I was handcuffed and brought to a small room in the seclusion wing. A uniformed person was there and, after introducing himself as Lieutenant Briggs from security, he proceeded to ask me to tell him, once again, what happened last night. I complied.

"Sol," he said, "you did a lousy job. We all know you did it to yourself."

I looked at him in silence and disbelief.  
"Are you saying I stabbed myself in the back?" I finally managed.

"I'm saying that we know who did it, and I'm looking at him."

"But why would I want to stab myself?"  
"Because you want to get out of Butner, and you figured that this would be the quickest way to do it."

**Dec. 17** I have been in solitary confinement for almost a month. They apparently have no additional clues as to my assailant, so they don't know where to put me. They felt it would be dangerous to put me back where my stabber may be waiting to finish his job, and they know that keeping me in the hole much longer could affect my sanity. They had to decide what to do with me.

At a conference in a small room near the seclusion cells, the assistant warden — who is a psychiatrist — another psychiatrist and a psychologist told me of their solution. They said the doctors at Butner had tentatively diagnosed my condition as far more serious than they, or even my own doctors, had initially thought. They said that during the commission of my crime I was delusional.

Thus they felt I was in further need of treatment. Toward that end, they intended to have me flown to Minneapolis, Minn., to a prison affiliated with the Mayo Clinic. The name of the prison: Rochester.

**Dec. 19** When we arrived at the Federal Medical Center, Rochester, we were taken to the receiving office, where my companion's handcuffs were removed, and I was unchained. He was told that he would be assigned to a cell pending his physical exam. I, on the other hand, would be assigned to seclusion on a temporary basis.

"Excuse me, sir," I inquired. "By seclusion do you mean solitary confinement?"

"By seclusion, I mean the hole," he answered.

If someone were to ask me to identify the worst moment of my confinement, this would be it. I had just been released from one month in the hole at Butner. My stab wounds still throbbled. My elbow was gashed, swollen and infected from a fall in my cell more than a week earlier. I looked, and must have smelled, like one of Hannibal Lecter's victims. My nearly five hours of being chained in transit by plane caused every muscle to ache. I had not slept in two days. And now I was being told that I was to be interned, once again, in the airless vault of seclusion.

Mr. Wachtler was soon released from solitary. In the Minnesota prison he eventually encountered many prisoners whose cases affirmed his belief that mandatory Federal sentencing guidelines impose undue restrictions on judges and often result in unjust sentences. Mike Kelly was one such inmate.

**March 10, 1994** Mike Kelly is handsome, blue-eyed and likable. He is in his late 20's and will be in prison until he is 50. He's here after having pleaded guilty to the armed robbery of a bank and possession of cocaine. The Federal sentencing guidelines made certain that the taxpayers will pay more than \$1 million to keep Mike off the streets for another 20 years. His only prior offense was for the possession of a small amount of cocaine.

Mike was an addict. He committed his first and only robbery while high on cocaine. He went into a bank in south Boston, not two blocks from his home, brandished a starter pistol, and ordered a teller to fill a paper bag with cash. He was wearing a Stetson hat to conceal his face from the overhead camera. The teller was in the process of emptying her cash drawer when a \$20 bill fell to the floor. As Mike bent over to pick up the bill, his hat fell off. Instinctively, he looked up at the camera and then fled. His total take from the robbery was \$1,850, which he spent that afternoon on cocaine. He was arrested at his home that evening.

I could tell a dozen stories like Mike's — people who commit crimes that are serious if viewed in the abstract. But when punishment is to be meted out, the crime should be the subject of contextual and individual analysis — tempered by the discretion of judges. If there were no sentencing guidelines in his case, few judges would even consider a 20-year sentence. This would have been an ideal case for medium-term incarceration coupled with a drug program.

The fact is that we cannot build prisons fast enough and, instead of exploring alternatives, we continue to criminalize things which should not be criminalized, and we continue to lengthen sentences.

**April 9** Last night the deadly 1971 Attica prison riot was revisited in a made-for-TV movie. Once again I was struck by the overwhelming irony of my life: here I was a prisoner seeing a drama involving a prison that I visited as a judge.

The TV room was crowded — the inmates anxious to escape their own imprisonment for a couple of hours by watching the story of other inmates who suffered more.

The movie depicted the indifference of the guards to the deprivations of the prisoners. It illustrated prison regulations apparently designed more to create inmate discomfort and suffering than to improve prison efficiency. And it showed the mindless violence that follows such utterances as: "If we can't live like men, at least we can die like men."

When the movie ended, and the epilogue scrolled silently across the screen, the room was equally silent, and then someone in the audience spoke. He addressed a question to me.

"How many Atticas will it take before the people who run the prisons learn that we're people too?"

I said nothing out loud. To myself I said: "Forget it: As prisoners, you will never be thought of as people."

**April 18** I remembered the prison tours I took when I was a judge, the tour of Attica while the embers of revolt still smoldered, and Greenhaven, Elmira, Auburn and Sing Sing — New York State prisons located in the most beautiful parts of my state. You can imagine the welcome they extended to the Chief Judge of the state. I was made to feel like a vestige of royalty. I always knew that I was seeing only what I was supposed to see, but I felt my visit was a demonstration to the inmates that we cared about their conditions.

Now that I am a prisoner, and judges are being shown the facility that imprisons me, I realize how deluded I was in those years by my own vanity and by those escorts who so carefully planned my itinerary.

For example, these judges were shown a part of the mental health unit that was air-conditioned and comparatively spacious. They were not escorted through the vast majority of the units, which had unventilated, cramped, double-bunked cells built for two but each holding four inmates. My home was one of these. Nor were the judges shown the even more crowded dormitories filled with work-cadre inmates who freeze during the Minnesota winter and swelter in the mosquito-infested summer.



David Jennings  
Chief Judge Wachtler presiding in 1992.

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ECONOMY

# The Year is 2010. Do You Know Where Your Bull Is?

By PETER PASSELL

IS the high-flying stock market, buoyed by a seemingly limitless tide of pension money, heading for a fall? No, not on the order of last Friday's 171-point drop, but something potentially far more disturbing two or three decades down the road — when the baby boomers retire and begin to trade in their securities for Winnebagos, visits to the petiodontist and trips to Disney World with the grandchildren?

"Don't bother me with this one — too much can happen between now and then," responded Bruce Steinberg of Merrill Lynch, reflecting the understandable impatience of Wall Streeters preoccupied with the more immediate questions of where inflation, G.D.P. and Alan Greenspan are heading.

But the issue, being raised quietly by the handful of specialists who study the links between demography and economics, is not the blue sky it might seem. With the population aging and Social Security drifting toward the political equivalent of Chapter 11, financial gurus are begging, pleading, cajoling Americans to save more for their own retirement. And the numbers suggest that the message has gotten through: investors have poured nearly half a trillion dollars into stock mutual funds over the last four years — \$50 billion in the first two months of this year alone.

Leaving aside Friday's 3 percent plunge, many of these new investors have known the market only to rise, and expect that to be the case right through their golden years. But economists taking the long view worry that the very process of cashing in the boomers' vast holdings of mutual funds could transform the most energetic of bulls into a sluggish bear.

"The difference between 7 percent and 3

percent real annual return is night and day," said James Poterba, an economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Nobody is suggesting that Rip Van Investor is going to wake up one day to discover that no one wants to buy his shares of Netscape Communications. But John Shoven, an economist at Stanford, does imagine "1970's-like stagnation in stock prices," which would extinguish many a dream of Mediterranean cruises and lazy mornings on the golf course. To protect that dream, Rip may have to save a lot more than he expected.

Start with some basics. Most personal wealth other than housing is accumulated through employer-based pensions. Mr. Shoven and Sylvester Schieber, an economist with Watson Wyatt Worldwide pension consultants, have projected future savings in both "defined benefit" pension plans, which promise a specific monthly pension, and "defined contribution" plans, which simply serve as tax-sheltered savings vehicles.

Based on plausible assumptions about the numbers of covered workers, their wages and their life expectancy as retirees, they expect real net inflows into pension plans — contributions and investment earnings, less benefits paid — to rise gradually from \$102 billion in 1995 to \$149 billion in 2010. That is the year before boomers start to turn 65.

By the second decade of the 21st century, though, increases in pension assets tail off — and may decline even sooner if the continuing downsizing of the corporate work force pushes more Americans into premature retirement. Adjusted for inflation, the value of the national nest egg actually begins to fall in 2025.

Mr. Shoven and Mr. Schieber estimate that real pension savings will slip from about 3.6 percent of total wages today to zero in 2024 and to a negative 3.5 percent in 2040. With the flood of baby boom pensioners cashing in, total pension assets are expected to fall to \$15 trillion in 2065 from \$28 trillion

in 2040. The total capitalization of listed domestic stocks today, by the way, is about \$6 trillion.

The magnitude of this projected drop in the middle of the next century has led Mr. Schieber to refer jocularly to the research as the "market meltdown paper." This joke hits uncomfortably close to the bone.

There has long been evidence that the age profile of the population helps to determine the way people hold their savings. In a 1973 study, John Bossons of the National Bureau of Economic Research found that half the wealth owned by Americans between 25 and 44 was in housing. This percentage fell with age, reaching 36 percent for those 55 to 64 and just 31 percent for people over 65.

It should not be surprising, then, that in 1989 Greg Mankiw of Harvard and David Weil of Brown found a strong statistical relationship between housing prices and the numbers of house-needy new families over very long periods. When the adult population is growing rapidly, housing prices follow. And what worked going up in the 1970's, when the oldest boomers were hitting their mid-20's, has worked on the way down since the late 80's, when those people hit their 40's. Prices have stagnated in recent years, trailing the rise in the cost of living. And in the housing markets that were hottest in the previous decade — Boston, Southern California, metropolitan New York — they have actually fallen.

Gurdip Bakshi of the University of New Orleans and Zhiwu Chen at the Ohio State College of Business refined the analysis. They predicted that the baby boomers — the roughly 80 million people born from 1946 through 1964 — would drive the relative demand for housing and stocks as this population bulge moved through the demographic "soaks."

Stocks did rise and housing prices were stable in the first two decades after World War II; the boomers' young parents, it seems, were saving for their children's education. But when those children came of age, the cost of a college education rose as demand for it rose, and priorities shifted, as a large swath of the population began favoring real estate over financial assets. By virtue of their numbers, that set off a housing boom and a stock market bust. Now, with the boomers graying, the stock market is pulling in most of their savings.

## The market tumbled on Friday. But when the boomers retire, look out. It could be the big one.

Sometime in the future, though, what goes around will presumably come around. If the boomers cash in assets when they retire, the overall decline in savings may well act as a drag on values in all financial markets. And if, as Mr. Bakshi and Mr. Chen found, investors also grow more conservative as they age, they will want to shift their portfolios from stocks to lower-risk financial assets like bank deposits and short-term bonds, even before they begin drawing down those assets.

That, however, is hardly the last word on this subject. In broad terms, opinions about the market meltdown hypothesis fit into three very different scripts:

The pessimistic view, presented in full regalia, is not a pretty sight. Household savings, buoyed by the baby boomers' late rush to prepare for old age, will crest around 2010. A few years later, Washington's on-again, off-again battle to eliminate budget deficits will be lost definitively when outlays for Social Security pensions first exceed, and then rapidly outpace, revenues from the payroll tax.

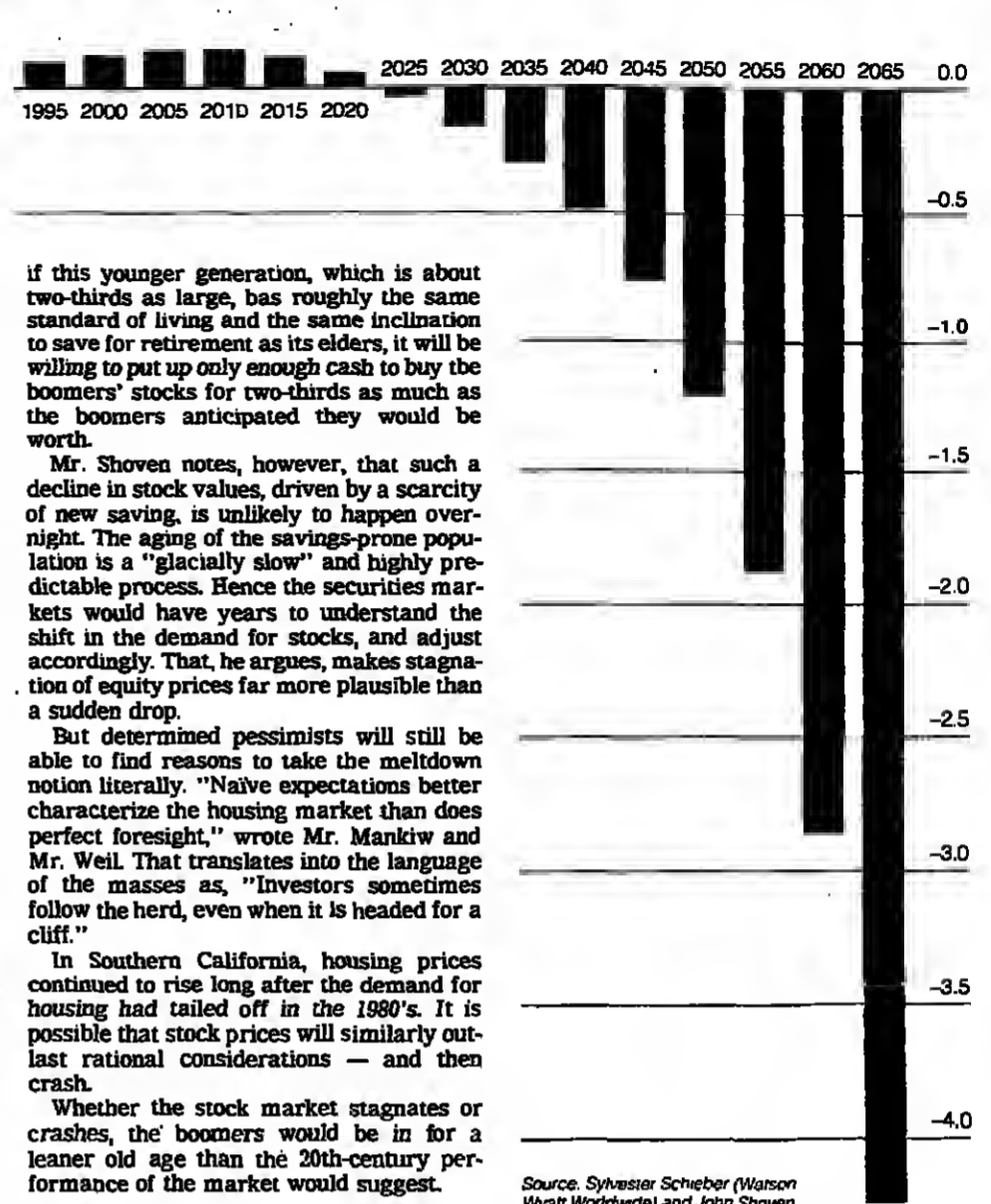
With private savings declining as a percentage of national income, and with Washington slurping up much of the savings that is available by running deficits, a shortage of capital will cause real interest rates to rise. It is hard to say by how much. But research by Thomas Helbling and Robert Westcott, economists at the International Monetary Fund, provides a benchmark.

They estimate that every increase of seven percentage points in the ratio of national debt to national output increases interest rates by about one point. The run-up of public debt in the 1981-93 period thus added about 1.4 percentage points to long-term rates. The returns needed to get increasingly risk-shy 70-something investors to hold stocks would presumably have to rise by more than the change in the interest rate — thereby reducing stock values.

Mr. Shoven of Stanford offers a back-of-the-envelope guessimate of how much stock prices would be depressed. The boomers, he suggests, will have to induce younger Americans to buy their stock portfolios. And

## When the Boomers Cash Out

Estimated net flow of assets into or out of pension and retirement savings, based on assumptions about future working populations, inflation and rates of return similar to those the Social Security Administration uses. Figures are adjusted for inflation.



Source: Sylvester Schieber (Watson Wyatt Worldwide) and John Shoven (Stanford University)

The New York Times

Alert readers may have already noticed that the doom-and-gloom outlook echoes forecasts of a mid-1980's capital shortage in America as huge Federal deficits siphoned trillions of dollars in private savings. Interest rates did rise. But more dire predictions did not come true because foreigners — notably Europeans, Japanese and Taiwanese — saved much of their surging export earnings in American stocks and bonds. In effect, they replaced most of the private domestic savings that Washington was busy passing out to pensioners and military contractors.

It is not likely that these thrifty friends in need will again ride to the rescue by purchasing the stocks that the baby boomers need to sell. "They are aging more rapidly and have even lower birth rates than we do," explains David Hale, chief economist at Zurich Kemper Investments in Chicago. And while lifelong habits may brake the overall decline in their savings rates, these investors can hardly be expected to fill a new hole in American savings.

But the equally thrifty Chinese — and perhaps citizens of the other big, high-saving emerging economies in Asia — just might. Mr. Westcott of the International Monetary Fund calculates that rising ratios of workers to total population will increase saving rates in the third world by 3 percentage points during the next two decades. If these economies grow rapidly enough (and declines in savings rates in Europe and Japan don't offset the impact by drawing investment there), he estimates that this will be sufficient to bail out the boomers.

Living on the financial good will of Asia, however, would be a problem. For one thing, it assumes that demands for capital within the third world will not absorb the lion's share of Asian savings. Some emerging economies — India, Brazil and Mexico — will almost certainly need external financing if they are to grow rapidly.

Note, too, that, as in the 1980's, the flip side to importing savings is running a trade deficit. If foreigners buy the financial assets of the baby boomers, the transactions will inevitably be reflected in higher American imports. And while trade protectionism has more or less been held at bay for two decades, the surprising vigor of the Presidential candidacy of Patrick J. Buchanan suggests that it will be much more difficult to sustain wide-open markets in the future.

The aging of America, it is agreed, will reduce household savings rates. But commensurably low birth rates, which will lead to a stable or even a shrinking work force by the second decade of the 21st century, may also reduce the demand for goods, and therefore for capital. This shift in demand

Source: Sylvester Schieber (Watson Wyatt Worldwide) and John Shoven (Stanford University)

The New York Times

could fully offset the impact of the shift in the supply of savings, and thus leave interest rates and securities prices unaffected.

Indeed, if current population projections hold, it will take on net savings to maintain a constant amount of capital per worker. Such a low-savings world would even allow for rising living standards, because continuing technological change would permit the same number of workers using the same amount of capital to produce more.

"There's light at the beginning of this tunnel," explained David M. Cutler, an economist at Harvard. "Declining fertility brings good news up front."

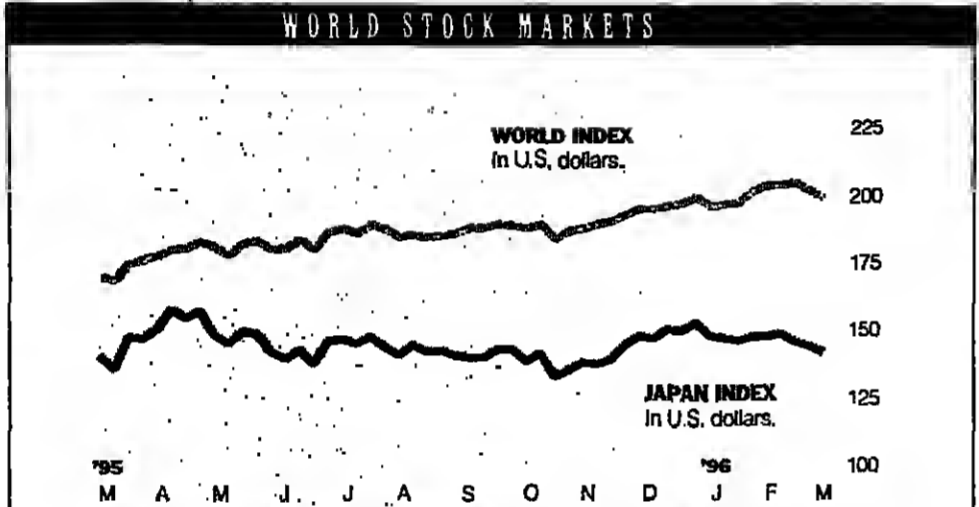
If there are fewer savers around, who would buy the financial assets that the retired baby boomers would need to sell? Not all capital consists of long-lived assets like buildings or power plants, Mr. Shoven said. Much of it depreciates rapidly and is normally replaced, but money designated for that kind of internal investment can be converted into cash dividends if management prefers to spend it that way. A company like General Electric, for example, currently reinvests billions of dollars for depreciation refurbishment each year. But it always has the option of shrinking by failing to replace worn-out or obsolete equipment.

This process would presumably take place automatically, driven only by the invisible hand of market incentives. With shrinking investment opportunities, more companies would simply find that the best way to sustain the value of their shares would be to buy back stock with the cash flow from the business.

How plausible is what Mr. Shoven calls the "slow growth, high consumption" outlook? Probably no more — or less — than the market meltdown.

Economists have over excelled at projecting long-term trends because too much depends on subtle interactions that can be safely ignored in the short run. For example, the "new growth theory," pioneered by Paul Romer of the University of California at Berkeley, suggests that the pace of technological change may depend on continuing high levels of investment. If he is right, a low-savings, low-investment world would slow technological change, retarding the growth of living standards and reducing equity values.

The life odyssey of the baby boom generation, most economists agree, will have enormous economic consequences. Trouble is, said Mr. Hale of Zurich Kemper, "we are only beginning to guess what they will be."



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT Indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

### PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS IN LOCAL CURR.

Country	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Dividend Yield	Index	YTD % Chg.
Australia	199.13	-1.7	15	4.8	7	3.96	172.39	1.5
Austria	183.67	-1.8	17	5.2	6	1.62	141.51	9.0
Belgium	212.21	-0.3	6	1.5	18	3.39	159.67	5.2
Brazil	147.48	-7.0	26	6.9	4	1.73	267.01	8.2
Britain	229.23	-1.1	11	-0.6	24	4.20	222.67	1.1
Canada	153.61	-0.7	8	3.5	11	2.47	152.03	3.7
Denmark	295.54	-2.6	22	2.3	15	1.66	230.44	5.9
Finland	180.06	-2.3	19	-3.7	25	2.62	174.31	2.2
France	186.75	-2.2	18	4.1	10	3.09	148.83	8.1
Germany	171.06	-1.6	13	4.5	9	1.86	131.94	8.3
Hong Kong	438.78	0.2	5	13.2	1	3.28	435.61	13.2
Ireland	261.59	0.5	3	2.4	14	3.41	235.02	4.6
Italy	74.69	-2.5	21	1.3	20	1.73	87.14	-0.2
Japan	146.92	-1.8	16	-5.2	26	0.78	98.28	-2.7
Malaysia	542.07	2.3	2	11.7	2	1.60	530.69	11.9
Mexico	1,048.55	-5.6	25	1.0	22	1.80	8,690.56	-0.4
Netherlands	278.02	-0.6	7	1.9	17	3.26	210.78	5.6
New Zealand	80.52	-1.1	12	1.1	21	4.71	63.29	-2.2
Norway	236.61	-0.9	10	2.3	16	2.46	207.13	4.4
Singapore	435.58	-2.4	20	7.0	3	1.43	282.71	6.5
South Africa	386.08	-0.7	9	0.2	23	3.13	331.42	7.9
Spain	167.41	-4.2	24	1.3	19	3.82	158.31	4.3
Sweden	326.45	-3.5	23	4.6	8	2.32	328.98	7.4
Switzerland	241.96	4.2	1	2.5	13	1.50	180.53	7.2
Thailand	179.78	0.2	4	6.8	5	1.94	175.97	7.0
United States	258.92	-1.6	14	3.1	12	2.24	258.92	3.1

COMPOSITE INDICES	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	
Europe	204.34	-1.0	1.7	3.05	177.60	4.5
Pacific Basin	160.96	-1.5	-2.8	1.21	110.56	-0.7
Europe/Pacific	178.93	-1.3	-0.6	2.09	135.93	1.7
World	204.39	-1.4	1.0	2.17	174.24	2.4

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1996 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

### CURRENCIES

Exchange rate	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	105.72	105.28	+0.42	90.90
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.4840	1.4755	+0.58	1.4120
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.3682	1.3700	-0.13	1.4075
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.5235	1.5285	-0.33	1.5740

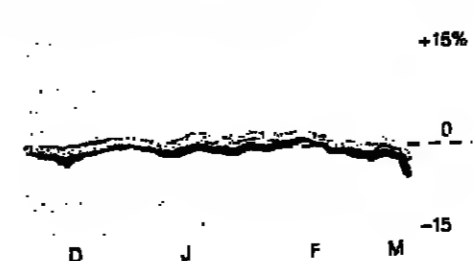
Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

## March 4-8: Bond Yields Surge and Stocks Drop as No Rate Cut Is Seen

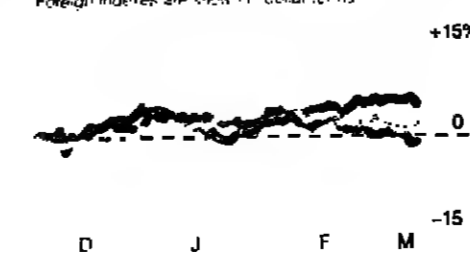
PRICES	Change
DOMESTIC EQUITIES	
Broad market	Down 1.69%
S.&P. 500 Index	633.50
Blue chips	Down 1.19%
Dow 30 industrials	5,470.45
Small capitalization	Down 1.51%
Russell 2000 index	319.21



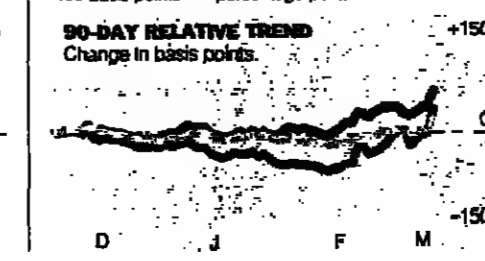
DOMESTIC BONDS	Change
Treasuries	Down 2.12%
Ryan Labs. Total Return	185.52
Municipals	Down 3.06%
Bond Buyer index	115.66
Corporates	Down 2.18%
Merrill Lynch Master index	793.64



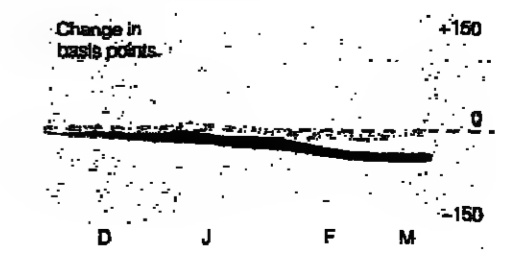
AROUND THE WORLD	Change
European stocks	Down 0.72%
F.T.-Actuaries Europe	204.94
Asian stocks	Down 1.47%
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	160.96
Gold	Down 0.50%
New York cash price	\$398.20



YIELDS	Change
BONDS	
Long bonds	6.72%
30-year Treasuries	Up 36 basis pts.
Short bonds	5.74%
2-year Treasuries	Up 32 basis pts.
Municipals	5.88%
Bond Buyer index	Up 22 basis pts.



OTHER INVESTMENTS	Change
Money market funds	4.79%
Taxable average	Up 1 basis pt.
Bank C.D.'s	4.64%
1-year small savers	Unchanged
Stocks	2.27%
S.&P. 500 dividend yield	Up 3 b.p.



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Dalastream; Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs

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## Downsizing and Its Discontents

Modern capitalism has always dealt its cards unevenly, but over time prosperity and freedom have flowed to almost everyone living under the system. The United States, moreover, is the envy of other industrial democracies because of its recent success in creating jobs and subduing inflation. Why, then, are so many Americans anxious about the future? If you have any doubt that such anxiety exists, read the meticulously reported series of articles in The Times last week, with their portrayal of lives, families, workplaces and communities disrupted by the downsizing in corporate America.

Granted, the series has concentrated on the people who lost jobs, not the many more who have gained jobs in a growing economy. There is also nothing new in churning economic cycles that, over time, have forced Americans from farm to factory, from country to city. As the economist Joseph Schumpeter observed long ago, capitalism embodies a process of "creative destruction" in which outdated enterprises must give way.

But there is something new and disturbing about current economic afflictions.

The middle and upper classes — the very groups benefiting most from the education and training that have for decades been a path upward — are experiencing massive losses of jobs for the first time. Most of these victims have to accept diminished pay and benefits in less secure jobs.

The spread of layoffs in relatively good times and among companies with strong profits has created a searing climate of insecurity as employees accept less, contributing to the leveling off and even decline of wages in the last two decades, the longest period of stagnation since the Civil War.

The anxiety among Americans has become a powerful fact of life in the current election campaign. Although President Clinton has a comparable record on job creation to that of President Ronald Reagan when Mr. Reagan ran for re-election in 1984, it is hard to imagine Mr. Clinton convincing anyone that a new "morning in America" is dawning.

Patrick Buchanan has roiled the scene with his proposals to curb immigration, imports and the ability of corporations to invest overseas. Fortunately, his prescription seems to have been rejected. But there is an emerging political consensus around a few key points that can show the way forward for voters, Presidential candidates, members of Congress and corporations that are smart enough to avoid the backlash whipped up by the unrestrained profit taking of the past 15 years.

There is, for example, a clear national demand for portable health insurance that follows workers from job to job or into unemployment. Fixing that problem does not have to wait for a 1993-style health care reform effort. Congress should adopt the legislation sponsored by Senators Edward Kennedy and Nancy Kassebaum to preserve health insurance for workers who lose their employer-based coverage

and are then turned away by other insurers. The bill commands bipartisan support and Senator Bob Dole can make it happen by allowing a quick vote.

Corporations and financiers must recognize that they cannot forever placate the anxiety of white-collar Americans by saying they are casualties of a righteous effort to squeeze out the last penny of profit for shareholders. American history demonstrates few patterns more clearly than that in which flamboyant corporate callousness leads to Government regulation.

When the middle class starts feeling aggrieved, the political system has to respond, as demonstrated by the speed with which Mr. Dole picked up Mr. Buchanan's attack on corporate downsizers. Smart boards of directors will begin to question multi-million-dollar bonuses for C.E.O.'s whose managerial skill is the ability to inflict maximum suffering on senior employees. By the same token, the days of company paternalism are over and skilled workers will have to learn how to save their jobs by navigating in a newly competitive environment.

The point is that neither business nor Government lacks the tools to deal with the problems explored in the Times's series. But it is important to remember that, for all the concern about downsizing, the families suffering the most right now are those at the bottom end of the scale, and that the distribution of wealth in the United States is growing increasingly inequitable. This is no time, as this page has said repeatedly, to think that prosperity can be achieved by budget cuts and tax reductions that disproportionately hurt the poor. Washington can play an additional role in investing in more training and education, perhaps through tax breaks, and working hard to open overseas markets for goods and services produced by the highest-paid workers.

However painful the trends of recent years, there is a sinking feeling that they could get worse. The forces of automation and technology, of companies looking for cheaper ways to make products overseas, of immigrants searching for opportunity on our shores, and of consumer demand for less expensive imported goods — these are trends that are almost certain to grow rather than diminish. The United States can no more stop them than it can build up steel and concrete walls along its borders.

Because economic change has always brought dislocation, there are some who feel that the United States should simply accept the current American anxiety as its inevitable lot. That would be a mistake. Exaggerated reverence for the raw justice of the market should not serve as an excuse for inaction. Americans want their leaders to talk sense about their problems. An election year is an excellent place to start. Presidential and Congressional candidates who ignore the frozen incomes of the poor and the chilling anxiety of the middle class will have a cold November.

### Editorial Notebook

## The Unmaking of a Primary

Senator Al D'Amato, that born-again political reformer, has come to a sudden realization that in a democracy, elections should involve more than one name on the ballot. "I think the process is served better when we have competition," he told voters after his candidate, Senator Bob Dole, handily won the Republican primary in New York.

Since Mr. D'Amato struggled so long and hard to keep competition out of this year's primary, New Yorkers may wonder whether this about-face means the state could lose its standing as the American electoral system's answer to North Korea. The embarrassment over this year's election will probably lead to some reform. History suggests, however, that any change will be modest unless the public shows an unprecedented level of interest in the issue of ballot access. Four years from now the state may once again be awash in court suits, while national commentators note that half of all election litigation in the country takes place in New York.

New York elections are based on what was originally a reform theory — that candidates should qualify for a spot on the ballot by collecting a given number of signatures of eligible voters. But the perversity of the system lies in the myriad ways this simple requirement can be turned into an impassable hurdle. Signatures have been tossed out by the courts because the supporter added a superfluous "Mrs." in front of her name. Entire volumes of names were declared invalid because of a mistake on the cover sheet. Infant political careers have been destroyed because of incorrect information about signers' Assembly districts. One upstate town clerk lost a large volume of signatures submitted for Steve Forbes in last week's primary, and the courts ruled that a photocopied substitute was inadmissible.

The State Legislature has actually been in the process of reforming New York's Presidential primary system for 20 years now, usually in teeny-tiny steps. In a breakthrough change, Democrats in 1976 decided to actually indicate on the ballot which Presidential candidate each delegate was pledged to. It was a reform restricted to one party. In 1980 fans of George Bush managed to get his delegate slate on the ballot in some parts of the state. But the party declined to include any hint as to which delegates were actually pledged to Mr. Bush and not Ronald Reagan. An outcry ensued, followed by another act of reform. In 1988 Republicans could finally figure out which Presidential candidate they were voting for without the help of reference materials.

That breakthrough was felt, however, in only about half the state. Until Steve Forbes spent \$1 million to get

## Election Reform Comes A Teaspoon at a Time

primary elections are actually 31 little district primaries, and candidates must qualify separately for each one, usually by collecting signatures of 1,250 registered Republicans who live in the district.

In the New York tradition, every single step along this road is a land mine. For instance, to get "quality" signatures less likely to be tossed out in court, collectors must go door-to-door, using a list of registered Republicans. In 1992, when Larry Rockefeller tried to wage a primary battle against Senator D'Amato, towns in Nassau and Suffolk Counties were so reluctant to tell Mr. Rockefeller where the Republicans lived that the candidate had to file a request under the Freedom of Information Law to see the voter registration lists.

The signatures also must be collected by registered Republicans who live in the district. This year Steve Forbes got around the problem in many deeply Democratic parts of New York City by rounding up unemployed young people who have never voted and registering them as Republicans. The workers — often teen-age moms and young men in gang beads — made \$10 an hour and qualified their candidate. It was, the organizers said, a sort of G.O.P. version of "Stand and Deliver."

When Democrats last held a Presidential primary in 1992, the party's main requirement was a simple 10,000 signatures statewide. By New York standards, that was the equivalent of a walk in the park. But candidates from gentler environs still found the going tough. Paul Tsongas failed to come up with enough names to make his petitions challenge-proof in court. Mr. Tsongas's Democratic opponents agreed to look the other way. But the New Alliance Party, angry because its candidate was being barred from the Democratic primary debates, sued. In a masterstroke of New York-style election-law thinking, the court threw out the case, contending that the local delegates who had agreed to allow their names to be used on the Tsongas slates should have been named as parties to the suit.

The Democrats have since lowered the bar to 5,000 signatures. So far neither party has seriously considered the obvious solution — automatically qualifying candidates whose standings in the Presidential campaign make it clear they have a right to be included. Then, the focus of the New York primary would be on the voters rather than the election law. GAIL COLLINS

## Palestinians Must Speak Out Against Terrorism

To the Editor:

The bombings in Israel are a reminder that real peace between Palestinians and Israelis remains a distant dream. More significant than the attacks themselves, however, will be the reaction of the Palestinian people to the murderers in their midst.

After the Irish Republican Army's bombings in London, thousands of Irish citizens angrily protested in the streets. Their message was that the I.R.A. does not murder British civilians in their name. When an Israeli gunman killed Arabs in Hebron two years ago in the name of Jewish rights to a holy site, thousands of Israelis protested and the Israeli Government cracked down on Jewish extremists.

The world is watching now to see what message the Palestinian community will send to those who murder in the name of Islam and Palestinian nationalism. A failure to act decisively will send an unmistakable message of support for these crimes and will end, once and for all, the myth of the "silent majority" of Palestinians that supposedly favors peace.

KENNETH C. GOLD  
West Bloomfield, Mich., March 6, 1996

To the Editor:

Small vocal minorities among the Palestinian community have managed to silence the majority and distort the true feelings of my people. The violence in the Middle East these past weeks is a violence that Palestinians as a community abhor and denounce, for it contradicts our fundamental religious beliefs.

The majority of Palestinians detest the violence and the murder of innocent civilians. The bloodshed is unnecessary and contradicts the basic views of Arab Christians and Muslims.

Hamas is acting without a popular mandate. Yasir Arafat was elected president of the new Palestinian government. Nearly 70 percent of Palestinians eligible to vote participated in those elections, of whom more than 88 percent voted in support of Mr. Arafat and his platform of peaceful negotiations with Israel. Hamas has no right to act outside of this representative structure.

Mr. Arafat may not be able to prevent the violence himself, but he clearly has a mandate to act against Palestinian extremist violence.

It does not help the peace process for Israel to punish the innocent for the crimes of the terrorists by sealing the homes of families or individuals who have links to the terrorists.

deeds. Collective punishment is not only immoral, it is illegal and counterproductive to the goal of peace. No one sealed the home of Baruch Goldstein when he murdered 29 Palestinians during prayers in the Hebron mosque.

Those outside the Palestinian community must do a better job of understanding the complex circumstances we are in. Palestinians who speak out against the peace process have a right to do so. They should be treated



Igor Kopechitsky

with respect and not forced into an alliance with those who wish to destroy the peace process using violence.

We may not be able to prevent the voices of hatred from taking more innocent lives. But we can, if we stand together, prevent them from murdering the peace process, which is the only real hope for both Palestinians and Jews.

RAY HANANIA  
Palestinian American Congress  
Chicago, March 6, 1996

To the Editor:

In your March 7 front-page article, you report that statements issued after the recent suicide bomb attacks in Israel said that "they were revenge for the assassination of the Hamas bomb-maker known as the Engineer, Yahya Ayyash."

If Yahya Ayyash had been captured by the Israeli Government (as many Nazi war criminals have been), given a fair trial and then sentenced if found guilty, is it possible that many innocent Israeli lives and those of two young American students would ever have been lost? Our own country replaced "frontier justice" with a system of laws and constitutional protections for sound reasons.

LUCY LEE EVANS  
New Canaan, Conn., March 7, 1996

## Cut Aid to Dependent Corporations Now

To the Editor:

Re "Move in Senate Aims at Cutting Corporate Aid" (front page, March 6): The effort by a bipartisan group of senators to form an inde-

## Licensing Dog Breeders

To the Editor:

Your March 3 Our Towns column states that Maria Stathacos is "a licensed breeder registered with the American Kennel Club." The function of licensing breeders belongs to the United States Department of Agriculture. The American Kennel Club registers individual dogs only, and it routinely inspects the records of those who use our services. The club inspects 3,000 kennels a year.

The club suspends the privileges of anyone convicted of cruelty to animals. The conditions observed during the Jan. 19 inspection of Ms. Stathacos's kennel were reported to the New York State Humane Society on Jan. 22, as is standard practice. We wish all humane societies responded as quickly as the Mohawk and River Humane Society did in this case.

WAYNE CAVANAUGH  
Vice Pres., American Kennel Club  
New York, March 6, 1996

pendent commission to help cut corporate welfare is a welcome acknowledgment that there is business-corporate subsidy and tax-break money unnecessarily leaving the United States Treasury.

The total cuts that the Republicans seek for balancing the budget in a magical seven years, primarily on the backs of the poor and the vulnerable middle class, pale by comparison.

Cutting Aid to Families With Dependent Children, food stamps, education, health, environmental, legal and other public welfare programs cannot save nearly the money given each year — estimated at \$100 billion to \$200 billion by research groups from left to right — in aid to dependent corporations.

It is an outrage that corporate welfare and the high peacetime military overindulgence (much of it pure corporate welfare) have remained sacrosanct. Our representatives in Washington, many of whose campaigns are financed by these corporations, have not seen fit to put these huge potential money sources on the table for their just share of the budget-cutting process.

Isn't it past time? JOEL SELBIN  
Boulder, Colo., March 6, 1996

## How Big a Threat Today Is the Factionalism Madison Foresaw?

To the Editor:

Re "Congress Shall Be Nothing if Not Contentious" (Week in Review, March 3): In comparing the "unproductive, frequently petty partisan bickering of today's lawmakers with the efficiency of those who wrote the entire Constitution in just four months in 1787," you underscore that the Framers were more concerned with serving the national interest than is the 104th Congress.

The Founding Fathers were, as Benjamin Franklin observed, "here to consult, not to contend with each other." In 1996, members of Congress are waging a permanent political campaign. Why has political factionalism in America reached fever pitch today?

James Madison, the Constitution's master builder, noted in Federalist, No. 10: "The latent causes of faction are sown in the nature of man; and we see them everywhere brought into different degrees of activity. . . . A zeal for different opinions concern-

ing religion, concerning government and many other points . . . an attachment to different leaders, ambitious contention for pre-eminence and power; or to persons of other descriptions whose fortunes have been interesting to human passions, have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other, than to cooperate for their common good.

"But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of

## World Can Take Action

To the Editor:

Israel has declared war on the Hamas, and President Clinton has all but said he would not stand in its way. As Israel thinks of changing its strategy toward achieving stability in the Middle East, the world community must do the same:

- All international military and economic relations with countries that support terrorist activity — Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Libya — should be frozen. There should be an immediate economic embargo of Iran and Libya, including the withdrawal of embassies and consulates, until they have removed themselves from terrorist organizations and activities. The United States should pressure its European and Asian allies who continue to associate with these pariah states.

- Negotiations with Syria should be suspended until it publicly commits to disassociate itself from the Hizbollah, or Party of God, as well as Hamas and their spin-off organizations and to dismantle their bases in Syria and Lebanon.

- International pressure should be applied on friendly Mideast states like Egypt, Jordan, Turkey and the Persian Gulf emirates who overlook Hamas and Hizbollah activities within their borders and who allow, passively or actively, the transfer of resources to these groups.

- The United States and other nations should outlaw all transfer of funds from Muslim organizations and private individuals to Palestinian organizations other than the Palestinian Authority.

- There should be international oversight of the use of funds arriving at territories under Palestinian control. Yasir Arafat might or might not be doing all he can to suppress militant activity. He needs help, and the international community should know what he is up to. ADI KRAUSE  
Washington, March 4, 1996

To the Editor:

Since Israel is a foreign country and thousands of miles away, it is understandable that President Clinton has continued to encourage Israel to stay with the current peace process despite the recent horrifying terrorist attacks.

I wonder if the President would be as magnanimous toward terrorists who were blowing up city buses full of innocent United States citizens here in New York City or even Washington. JOE SCHWARZ  
New York, March 6, 1996

## Let Political Pundits Take Page From Bookies

To the Editor:

Tom Brokaw (Op-Ed, March 2) does a disservice to bookies when he equates them with stockbrokers and political pundits. Bookies are too smart to try to predict the future.

Recognizing the impossibility of repeatedly selecting the winner and betting to overcome the odds and point spread, bookies position themselves to profit from the failure of others to discern this truth. The bookie need not concern himself with analyses, exit polls or earnings reports. The bettor's desire to indulge his fantasies is all the bookie requires to prosper.

MICHAEL SCREIBER  
Ossining, N.Y., March 4, 1996

To the Editor:

Tom Brokaw (Op-Ed, March 2) misses the point of the group-commentary political programs. Bookies and stockbrokers get paid regardless of who wins. It is the same with professional commentators.

Their function is like that of football commentators. The mental exercise of analyzing the plays and players provides the entertainment. In football, entertainment is the purpose, while politics is serious. Isn't it? JAY B. BLOOM  
Springfield, N.J., March 2, 1996

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THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Surely They Know

BEIJING

"No." It was said without a moment's hesitation or a shred of doubt. The speaker was one of China's top state economists, and the question I had posed to him was this: Can China afford to attack Taiwan? "No," he shook his head. "It would stop investment in China, stop growth, stop our last chance to catch up with the rest of the world."

Like everyone else I spoke to in the Chinese Government, this economist felt China would be fully justified in blasting Taiwan to prevent it from becoming independent. But unlike others he was also ready to express what every official here must know but will not say aloud — that China cannot attack Taiwan without devastating its own economy.

Don't get me wrong. If Taiwan goes too far in its quest for a more independent profile on the world stage, I have absolutely no doubt that China will use military force to stop Taipei — no matter what the economic consequences. No Chinese leader could survive if he let Taiwan become independent. But no Chinese leader can survive without foreign investment and trade either. That is the leadership's real dilemma. Listen closely and you can hear the tension. Tang Shubai, China's top negotiator with Taiwan, said to me: "I do not want to argue with you [about the negative economic consequences of attacking Taiwan], but should Taiwan strive for independence, we will not hesitate to use all means, including military ones, to safeguard the unity of the Motherland — but we still wish to see a peaceful settlement."

The notion that China might be inhibited about military action against Taiwan because it would have

Attacking Taiwan would cost China.

a devastating economic impact might seem ludicrous in light of China's history. In 1960 China broke relations with the Soviet Union when Moscow was its only financial supporter in the world. In 1979 China shrugged off the economic consequences and went to war with Vietnam.

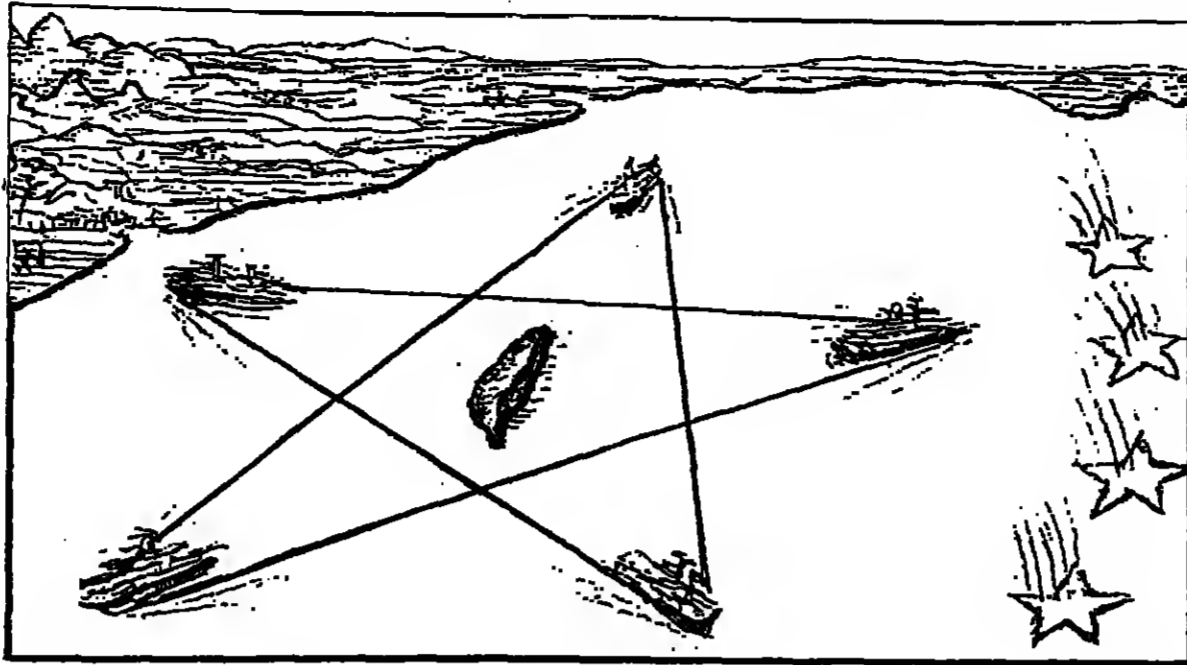
But today's China is different. It is no longer the isolated, peasant-based economy of the Mao era. It is now connected to the global economy. And the legitimacy of China's leaders today depends on their ability to maintain economic growth and jobs to accommodate the millions of Chinese entering the labor force each year. China's leaders cannot do that without the \$100 billion a day in foreign investment that now pours into China — which accounts for 20 percent of total annual investment here.

A good deal of that \$100 billion would dry up the minute China attacked Taiwan. The Taiwan stock exchange would crash, choking off all Taiwanese investment in the Mainland, and that surely would lead to capital flight from the Hong Kong stock market as well — killing the two golden geese, Hong Kong and Taiwan, that together have built \$100 billion worth of factories, offices, hotels and energy plants in China. It is a measure of China's dependence on foreign investment that Wang Shou-geng, a director of Shanghai's Foreign Investment Commission, was quoted as saying Friday that even if China has to attack Taiwan, "there will be no big change in our attitude toward Taiwan investors." Translation: Even if we invade, we sure hope your investor won't take it personally.

But U.S. officials say Chinese exports to the U.S. — which account for 40 percent of China's total exports — would almost certainly be cut back in retaliation. Japan would surely halt its \$1 billion in annual financial aid to China, and Singapore has already reportedly warned Beijing that if it attacks Taiwan, Singapore would freeze its massive investment in Suzhou, an industrial city it is erecting outside Shanghai. Last week, Singapore's former Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, warned Beijing publicly that if it attacks Taiwan, "then China's hopes of becoming an industrial nation in 25 years will suffer a major setback." Such a setback would lead to massive unemployment in China's cities and explosive social unrest.

I believe China began more missile tests near Taiwan because China's leaders desperately want to terrify Taiwan away from any thoughts of independence — without actually going to war. Unfortunately, China's leaders seem to think the only way to avoid such a war is by taking everyone to the brink of it. But surely China's leaders know they can't go over that brink.

They must know that, right? I mean, they have to. ... Maybe they don't know it. ... What if they don't know it?



James Kapusta

How Far to Support Taiwan?

By David Shambaugh

LONDON **B**y firing ballistic missiles within Taiwan's territorial waters, China is sending political and military messages to both the United States and Taiwan. Unless the Clinton Administration delivers a demonstrably tough response — both diplomatically and militarily — the exercises could escalate dangerously and Beijing will be convinced it can act with impunity.

The military exercises are but the latest in a long list of irritants, including Beijing's human rights violations and its sale of international arms. The Clinton Administration has bent over backwards to engage China constructively and help it integrate into the world order.

But Beijing's crude tactics are provocative and irresponsible for a country seeking international recognition as a great power. They also potentially force the United States into choosing between its relationship with China and its longstanding ties with Taiwan. America understandably does not want war with the largest nation on earth, but it is time to lay down markers and protect American national interests.

Washington should begin by sending clear and unambiguous warnings to Beijing about its coercive behavior toward Taiwan. The Administration's condemnation of the missile tests does not go far enough. President Clinton should publicly restate America's commitment under the Taiwan Relations Act to assist the island in defending itself. He should reiterate that America's entire relationship

David Shambaugh, editor of *The China Quarterly*, is a professor at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London.

with China — since President Richard Nixon's visit in 1972 — has been premised on the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue. President Clinton must clearly state that China's recent actions call the entire relationship into question.

Words are important, but China respects power and action. The United States Navy should dispatch the carrier Independence (which has been cruising north of Taiwan) through the Taiwan Strait — an international passage through which Navy ships pass

China's missiles are aimed at the U.S., too.

regularly to insure freedom of navigation.

China's decision to fire missiles into the two "impact zones" within 20 miles of the Taiwan's two largest ports, Keelung and Kaohsiung, constitutes a de facto blockade. Seventy percent of the island's trade and all of its oil imports pass through these ports. Such a partial blockade may be an act of war under international law and thus a matter for the United Nations Security Council. China must not be allowed to close Taiwan's harbors, as it will bring the island's economy to its knees.

The missiles are just the beginning. Leading up to Taiwan's first-ever free presidential election, on March 23, China will conduct the largest military maneuvers in its history. More than 150,000 troops have been mobilized. The exercises will involve mock bombing runs, simulated naval blockades and amphibious assaults on islands north of Taiwan.

The exercises may be an attempt to

provoke a military response from Taiwan, which Beijing could then use as a pretext for "retaliation." Clearly the exercises are intended to intimidate the Taiwanese electorate and to quell the rising sentiment for autonomy and independence.

Most China analysts are confident that the exercises will cease soon after the elections. Taiwanese diplomats are already putting out the word that Taiwan's President, Lee Teng-hui, who is almost certain to be re-elected, will call for a truce and seek to establish direct trade, shipping and air services.

But for China the essence of the problem is Taiwan's quest for international recognition. It is likely to continue its military harassment until Taipei officially abandons its aspirations for statehood. But Mr. Lee is unlikely to do so, giving the United States a stark choice between supporting the forces of freedom and self-determination on the island or those of suppression and belligerence on the mainland.

This is a choice America needs to avoid. By standing firm against Beijing and counseling Taipei to be cautious, America may be able to bring both sides to the negotiating table.

Given China's current hypernationalistic atmosphere and the struggle to succeed Deng Xiaoping, it is doubtful that it will show restraint on Taiwan if left unchecked. It is up to the United States, with the support of its Asian and European partners, to deter China's aggression. The alternative is escalating tension and possibly war over Taiwan.

Bob Dole is the candidate of not. He has not come up with a reason why he should be President, other than that he was not a winner in '76 or '80 or '88.

His primary message is that he is not Pat Buchanan. His message next fall will be that he is not Bill Clinton. He does not want to do debates or talk shows, because the panelists are always lecturing him about how he does not have big ideas or soaring rhetoric. He does not talk, unless he has to. (As opposed to the man over in the White House, who does not stop talking, unless he has to.)

Bob Dole does not want to listen to campaign advisers, because they are, after all, not Bob Dole.

The Kansas Senator does not envision a shining city on a hill. Instead, he offers negation, telling crowds: "I've got news for you, President Clinton, we're going to veto you in '96." He had better hope that King Lear was wrong when he cried: "Nothing can come of nothing."

My favorite negative is when Mr. Dole drolly urges voters to support him because, "We've ever had a President named Bob."

Of course, we've never had a President named Biff or Buzz or Snoop Doggy Dog, either.

But, for lack of a vision thing, let's examine the omelette thing. Mr. Dole's name is already a topic of discussion, because of his odd habit of talking in the third person. It is unclear whether he does this for the same reason George Bush dropped pronouns and skipped straight to the verb — a mother who told him to be modest and not stress what Mr. Bush called "the big I." Or if his tragic war experience caused alienation. Or if, as Mr. Dole has said, it's just good advertising.

Comedians have seized on the name. On the Letterman show, Dana Carvey bellowed: "I'm the Bobbiest Dole you've ever Dolled Bobbed!"

A passage in the 18th century novel "Tristram Shandy" oo "name magic" deemed Bob a "neutral" omelette, like Jack, Dick and Tom: "How many Caesars and Pompeys ... by mere inspiration of the names, have been rendered worthy of them! And how many ... are there who might have done exceeding well in the world, had not their characters and spirits been totally depressed and Nicodemus'd into nothing."

Bobs are trying to make a virtue of their all-American blandness. There is a "Yo! Bob!" line of greeting cards, an annual Bob Day Fest, and a World

Liberties

Maureen Dowd

Love That Bob

Wide Web site based on "The Bob Book: A Celebration of the Ultimate Okay Guy."

"The Bob Book" features interviews with Bobs from Dole to Newhart to Woodward to Goulet. The Norman omelette means "bright fame," even though you can't think of any world leaders named Bob. Roberts, as in Robert the Bruce and Robert E. Lee, get more respect.

"Bobs are never overwhelmed by circumstances; they face the music omelette note at a time," says the Bob Web site. "They do not dance; they hum. There is nothing flashy about Bobs. They put forth only what they are capable of expending; they can afford to promise little more. It's not as though they can hide behind their name. There isn't room."

Certainly, Bob seems better suited

A palindrome for President.

to the owner of a Big Boy hamburger chain than a President. It might beat Jimmy or Millard, but it doesn't have the weight of a Grover, Zachary or Ulysses. I checked around with some experts.

"Bob never gets the girl — that's why Robert Redford is not called Bob," says Bob Goodman, a Republican media consultant.

"It's a friendly omelette — you don't hear of too many serial killers named Bob," says Bobbie Battista, a CNN anchor.

"You can spell it backwards," says Bob Teeter, a G.O.P. pollster. "The only time the name was a chore," says Bob Strauss, a Democratic lawyer, "was when my friend Anwar Sadat could not pronounce it and kept calling me 'Bob.'"

"Paul Begala always called me 'Bob,'" says Bob Boorstin, a Clinton State Department official. "But Bobs aren't Bobs. Not at all."

"Bob is better than Malcolm," says Bob Shrum, a Democratic consultant.

Until Bob Dole comes up with some serious ideas, he may as well stress consonance. He can offer voters the chance to elect America's first palindromic President. His reversible slogan could be: "Sit on a potato pan, Otis."

Better than nothing. □

Oh, for Those Pearls

By Patricia Volk

**I**n the next couple of days, 15,000 people will receive "The Estate of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis" in the mail. More than 4,000 items that belonged to the former First Lady will be up for grabs at a Sotheby's auction on April 23. The catalogue is 584 pages long and has nearly 800 illustrations. I want those pearls.

In the 60's, Jackie wore a faux triple strand just like the ones Barbara Bush wore in the 80's. But Babs's hold no charm for me. I want the ones President John F. Kennedy looked at over breakfast, the ones Caroline and John-John fingered. I

I'd buy anything, as long as it was owned by Jackie O.

want the pearls that will remind me, every time I wear them, of a period of potential, when I was 17, and a fairy tale seemed to be coming true. I want history's pearls, but if I can't get them, hey, I can be happy with the Black Bead Necklace.

When we flock to the estate auctions of famous people like the Duchesses of Windsor and Bethe Davis, we are hoping to buy more than provenance. The experience of reading the newspaper actually changes if you do it using the lamp President Kennedy read The Washington Post by. Does this mean we are our stuff? And if we buy their stuff, are we them? Does acquiring Jackie's black enamel cigarette lighter mean you have acquired a little piece of the lady herself? If I can't get the beads, I wouldn't mind the Empire-Style Footstool.

On Oct. 11, 1990, Sotheby's auctioned property from Virgil Thomson's estate. I lusted after Lot No. 9, "a fine black silk brocade vest with

Patricia Volk is a novelist and essayist.

overall pattern of multicolored butterflies ... made for Gertrude Stein." I pictured Gertrude writing the "Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas" in it. I pictured Virgil at the Chelsea Hotel sitting in the vest on his slip-covered wing chair while composing a musical portrait of a friend. Most of all, I pictured me, in front of my word processor, feeling charged and inspired in the giant vest. Virgil and Gertrude's genius would rage through my fingertips into the keyboard. Just looking at the vest would evoke them the same way my dead grandfather's ring evoked him when I wore it. I had to have the vest. The catalogue's estimated price was \$600 to \$900. I was prepared to go up to \$500. The winning bid was \$18,000.

If I can't get the footstool, I'll settle for the Miscellaneous Woven Baskets. In the auction of a famous person's estate, the fun is seeing close up what you were never meant to, the intimacy of a stained rug, tchotchkes, bedroom items, for God's sake. So what if these things were chosen by Jackie's decorators? She used them, right? There's something deeper going on, too. It approaches kinship. The reasoning is: If we like the same things, we're similar.

I have a friend who peeks into people's medicine chests. She thinks she can tell everything about people by looking at their pill bottles and creams. "Someday, maybe everything about me will be known, but not with my cooperation," Mrs. Onassis once said.

Will we come a little closer to knowing a private, inaccessible woman by ogling her stuff? So what if you never got invited to dinner. You can still sit at her table. At celebrity auctions, we're able to feel the cloth and slide the drawers. We compare their things to ours. Sometimes, ours hold up. When I saw Rudolf Nureyev's shabby yellow so-fas at Christie's, he was instantly humanized. Nureyev let things fall apart. He was, gasp!, like me.

Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis wore white gloves to the theater, got her hair done 104 times a year and had a place in history no sane person could envy. The Garnet Brooch is another story. What the heck, I'll take an ashtray. □

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MUSIC

# Lord Sting is at Peace In His Fields of Gold

By GUY GARCIA

**S**URROUNDED by massive wooden furniture, thick Persian carpets and a dripping candelabra, Sting leans forward in the baronial sitting hall of his 16th-century manor house in this hamlet, a 90-minute drive southwest of London, and begins to tell a story. "I was climbing an Aztec pyramid in Mexico," he says. "And when I got to the top, there was this guy sitting in a lotus position, facing the view. Suddenly, without even turning his head, he announced, 'You will find peace within, Sting.'" Laughing at the memory, which even he concedes sounds farfetched, the singer adds, "He seemed to be expecting me."

The unspoken punch line, of course, is that at 44, pop's protean troubadour has indeed found his own kind of creative nirvana. Besides the pastoral pleasures of his 60-acre estate, the former leader of the rock band the Police has just become a father for the sixth time (his infant son, Giacomo, is his fourth child with his wife, Trudie Styler, a film producer and actress). He has just finished a new movie, "The Grotesque," in which he and Ms. Styler star as a malevolent butler and his housekeeper wife. And his seventh solo album, "Mercury Falling," which he previewed at a concert last weekend at the Academy in New York, will be released on Tuesday.

At a stage of life when most pop stars have burned out or faded, Sting has held his place in the musical firmament as the thinking man's rocker. His bratty neo-punk persona of the 80's has long since given way to a mellower, more aristocratic air, and like the aging baby boomers who still buy his records, he has traded the sybaritic pursuits of youth for the quieter pleasures of home and family.

Sting's music has also slowed down and become more stately, taking on jazz, classical and Latin touches. But as Sting has changed, branching out into environmental causes, films and even CD-ROM's, his audience has evolved along with him, proving that artistic innovation and popularity are not always mutually exclusive.

"He has his own particular signature, which is a certain kind of a jazzy thing, but it's also accessible and dynamic," says the singer-songwriter James Taylor, who has been a friend for almost a decade. "He has consuming interests — most of them musical, some of them literary — but also he's interested in architecture and art and various causes. Plus, for an Englishman, he has great teeth."

Being its title, "Mercury Falling" continues Sting's trajectory away from the downbeat introspection that had become the hallmark of his post-Police career. Like his last full-scale studio album, "Ten Summoner's Tales" (1993), which sold more than eight million copies worldwide, "Mercury Falling" is an eclectic showcase for Sting's pop gifts, but the mood is more buoyant. There's even a song in which he sings, "I saw a friend of mine/ He said I look different somehow/ I said everybody's got to leave their darkness behind sometime."

"I've found him to be more and more relaxed," says Mike Figgis, the director who cast Sting in the lead role of Mr. Figgis's 1988 movie, "Stormy Monday," and more recently enlisted him to sing on the soundtrack of his current hit, "Leaving Las Vegas."

"Musically, he's arrived at a place where he's technically very good at what he does, and he's really starting to enjoy not having to push the envelope all the time, which as a younger pop star you're expected to do," Mr. Figgis says. "Also, he's got a very strong family unit now, so he's got a really solid base, and I think he's quite peaceful about that."

Sting admits that fatherhood has deepened his appreciation for the importance of family. "Well, I'm not a normal father," he says, referring to his hectic schedule. "I'm like a sailor. I'm here 24 hours, and then I'm away. But you know it's a mixed bag, just like anybody."

Sting's new-found tranquility is evident on a recent visit to Lake House, his meticulously restored stone mansion in a bucolic burg within walking distance of Stonehenge. The house, which was featured on the cover of Architectural Digest in January, is an elegant jumble of Elizabethan and Gothic Revival antiques, patrolled by a ragtag gang of amiable dogs and cats. Through the mullioned windows one can glimpse part of an English garden and a 350-year-old copper beech tree that convinced the couple that they should buy the house. "Got it for a song, literally," Sting says.

Dressed in olive safari pants, work boots and an open-collared shirt with unbuttoned sleeves, Sting epitomizes the country squire as he rises from a heavy wood table strewn with pages of music and leads the way to the new recording studio that he built in a former stable on the property. Pointing to a small dial in the center of a state-of-the-art mixing board, he says, "There's the volume," and then slips out of the studio while an

unmixed version of "Mercury Falling" pours from the speakers.

Afterward, Sting and Ms. Styler sit down to a lunch of pasta, bread and grilled mushrooms in Lake House's spacious country kitchen. As he takes his place at the table, an imposing Irish wolfhound nuzzles his hand. "One of the hounds of winter," he says, referring to the title of the opening track on the new album.

The talk turns to "The Grotesque," which Ms. Styler produced and for which no release date has been set. Asked to describe Sting as an actor, she retorts, "Cheap and cheerful." During the filming of "Stormy Monday," Mr. Figgis found Sting to be "a good actor with a natural sense of timing" and thought that his talents were best suited to playing dark characters who are suffering from some inner conflict.

"He'd make a good Nazi in a way, because a lot of German soldiers were coerced — as people always are — into being part of a movement that they didn't actually believe in," Mr. Figgis says. "So I could see him playing a role where he's having a crisis of faith in some way."

Sting, for his part, describes his acting career, which has included roles in the movies "Plenty," "Dune" and "The Bride," all in the mid-80's, as "a good way to get the waters flowing."

"But I'm not sitting by the phone waiting for Hollywood to call, which is what I think you have to do," he says.

Janet Maslin, writing in The New York Times, called Sting's "quietly menacing performance" in "Stormy Monday" "perhaps the movie's biggest surprise." His star turn in a 1989 Broadway revival of "The Threepenny Opera" fared less well. Frank Rich of The Times described him as "a stiff onstage."

After lunch, Sting repairs to the "captain's room," named after an eccentric seaman who once lived in it. With a wood fire crackling behind him, he settles into an oversized chair near a desk strewn with books and classical and jazz CD's. Sipping from a cup of hot water and lemon, he talks about how his new-found optimism has begun to surface in his work.

"In the past, I thought that to be creative you had to suffer somehow," he reflects. "Now I'm in the mode where I feel, O.K., I've lived a tough life and I want not to be smug, but I want to be content in my life and draw on that contentment. I don't subscribe to that thing, any more of being traumatized or living in the gutter to produce decent work."

Born Gordon Sumner in Newcastle in 1951, a shipping town in the north of England, Sting worked as a provincial schoolteacher before joining the guitarist Andy Summers and the drummer Stewart Copeland in



Sting in the 1984 movie "Dune"

the late 70's to form the Police. (He got his professional moniker after showing up at a rehearsal one day in a black-and-yellow-striped sweater.)

The band went on to become one of the most popular bands in the world before breaking up in 1985. Sting once told an interviewer that he had become a rock star to escape his working-class origins (his father was a milkman; his mother a hairdresser), a comment he later repudiated. Sting's ambivalence about his past was the inspiration for the 1991 album "The Soul Cages," a deeply introspective work that he wrote after the death of his parents.

The fleeting nature of life and the creative act itself are themes that resurface in "Mercury Falling." "Mercury is an interesting image," Sting explains. "It has astronomical, astrological and mythological connotations. Mercury is the god of commerce, the god of thievery, the god of change. He's the messenger of the gods. I like the mercurial idea, something you can't quite pin down."

True to form, Sting spans a wide spectrum of musical styles on "Mercury Falling," from the Brazilian slide of "I Was Brought to My Senses" to the mock-country twang of "I'm So Happy I Can't Stop Crying" to "Let Your Soul Be Your Pilot," a rousing gospel number that features a church choir and the Memphis Horns. In a review of the Academy concert, Jon Pareles of The Times said of Sting's new material, "No other top 10 contender is so fond of odd meters or mid-song shifts of style."



Sting on his 60-acre estate southwest of London—Pastoral pleasures, mellower air.

Dominic Miller, who has played guitar in Sting's band since "The Soul Cages" and regularly challenges him to a friendly game of chess while touring, adds: "He's got a very lateral mind when it comes to music, and that transcends into other areas as well. He's got a great end game. I'll be way ahead of him and he'll be celebrating, 'opening the champagne,' and next thing I know I've lost my queen. He doesn't care if he's a piece or two down. It doesn't seem to affect him in the slightest."

Sting is equally unperturbed by accusations that his support for social and environmental organizations like the Rainforest Foundation, of which Ms. Styler is a co-founder, are motivated more by egomania than by genuine concern. "The good and bad tend to balance out," he says with a shrug. "I've been accused of being a gadfly and just dabbling here and there, but that interests me. I don't want to get into one groove and just dig and dig. I'm not that kind of person."

Mr. Taylor is one of many celebrities who have appeared at several of Sting's annual concerts in New York to benefit the Rainforest Foundation's efforts to protect the homelands of the Kaiapó tribe of Brazil. He bristles at the notion that Sting's activism is self-serving. "That his motivation is somehow baser than the obvious one, which is that we all live here in the world and are concerned with its protection, is absurd," Mr. Taylor says. "It's stupid and just mean."

Yet even his closest friends acknowledge that there's something about Sting that annoys some people. "It's a slightly schoolteacherish quality, which is not too surprising since he was a schoolteacher once," observes Mr. Figgis. "He does do his homework, so that when he talks about something he'll present it in a kind of semifactual way, which is slightly unnerving perhaps."

At the same time, Mr. Figgis adds: "A lot of it is resentment. He's good-looking, he's a really good singer, and women really like him. The resentment seems to ever to come from women; it almost always comes from men. It's a lot of jealousy, I think."

Sting, who will lead another rainforest benefit on April 12 at Carnegie Hall, stands by his efforts to help the Kaiapó, many of whom have become his friends. "I'm fascinated by South America," he says. "I think it's the frontier for many human activities."

In return, the Kaiapó have introduced him to the rites of their culture, including ceremonies involving the ingestion of psychotropic plants. "It's daunting whenever you have an experience like that because you're dealing with raw fear," he explains. "I'm totally against frivolous drug taking as some sort of party tool. But in a religious, informed context, it's the best thing you can do. I believe that in evolutionary terms we've just swung down from the trees, and that one of the things that made us human was the relationship with certain plants that tripped us into consciousness. I think we need another evolutionary leap."

As the end of the millennium approaches, Sting doesn't mind sounding more like someone from the 60's

than from the 90's. He remains optimistic that humankind may yet find a way to rise above its self-destructive tendencies. "Certain forms of behavior cannot carry on, logically, without disastrous effects," he says. "We need a reality check. But this sort of Armageddon lobby — people wanting disaster to happen — it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. I don't want to support those people."

I'm looking forward to the next millennium. I'll be 50." Claiming to have "run out of charisma," Sting suggests a walk in the garden. Strolling past a green glade, he casually announces, "I plan to be buried there someday." A few yards down the path, he stops at the barn, where the sight of a newborn calf struggling to take its first steps seems to invigorate him.

Heading back to the house, he halts in his tracks to recount another life-affirming moment. "I was walking this way the other day, and it was overcast, just like now," he says. "And suddenly the clouds parted and there was this big rainbow arching over the house. It was so beautiful I almost cried. There was no one else around. It seemed to be there just for me."

## PARTING WORDS

BY FRAN AND LOU SABIN / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

**ACROSS**

- Place for a healer (or a healer)
- Understanding
- Condo ad abbr.
- "Northern Exposure" setting
- Art forger's aid
- Bluffs
- Gobble
- Prepared horses' hooves for shoeing
- FIDE LIT Y
- Like a dame
- Takes up
- Bomb vestige
- Colorless people
- Yields
- Jazz trumpeter Baker et al.
- Wager of Merope, in myth
- Generous and strong-willed one, supposedly
- Nightclub
- Bulwark
- Donkey's uncles
- A CTO RS
- Hurricane heading
- Schubert composition
- Algid
- Part of a three-weapon competition
- Counterpart of a Mile
- Weisshorn, e.g.
- SA LL Y
- Decathlete Johnson
- Procrastinators
- Flee with a flame
- Grinders
- Disturb
- "Skedaddle!"
- Parisian puffing stuff
- Percussion sticks that accompany dancing
- San Diego founder Junpero
- New Jersey statehouse name
- Redirect
- FIL T ER
- Tick off
- He KO'd Carnera, 6/14/34
- To — (precisely)
- "ER" medic
- 1935 Rodgers and Hart song
- Question in a defensive reply
- C LI NCH
- Backside
- "Stag at Bay" painter
- Sayyid's subjects
- Spare unit
- Leave off
- Hornless cow

**DOWN**

- Ibis, e.g.
- Twinklitoed
- Live it up
- Talked childishly
- Isolated area
- Luna Park attractions
- " — right with the world": Browning
- Road alert
- Friends Network
- Familial
- Dillon and others
- Ocular woe
- Bach's "The — of the Fugue"
- Stored
- Lone Star pros
- CLI Q UE
- Castle section
- Dubs in
- Ophalia and Laertes
- Geological feature
- Periphrasized
- Nast
- Shine's partner
- Scams, in a way
- Common street name
- It has a yellow disk
- Vineyard data
- Monk of yore
- Gloomy Gus's expression
- Delta builder
- SA LA RIES
- "Roger & Me" creator Michael
- Smarry Dickens character
- Peppery green
- Palacio divisions
- Further down?
- Pola of the silents
- Mischievous miss
- Bits
- Falstaff's page in "The Merry Wives of Windsor"
- One in St. Valentine's care
- Parts of stable families
- Polish "Thing"
- Conspiracy
- Zoo animal
- Fish in a way
- Volta's subj.
- Swamp swimmers
- Part of a multivitamin
- Counter's opening
- 1979 and '82 Oscar winner
- Plagiaries
- Blackjack bases
- Bogey territory
- Amelia Earhart and Mort Walker, e.g.
- Crop problem
- Inomitting sort
- Let off easy, maybe
- Infer
- Lustrous fabric
- Cater (to)
- Looking scared
- Not much of a blockade
- Citrus site
- Canted
- Tourney stage
- Fill
- C.E.O.
- Regarding
- Atrend Andover, e.g.
- Meet a raise
- Cantab's rival

## ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

TUBBS AQUA GIBBY GARY  
 APARTY LUMS GIBBY GARY  
 RITERS GIBBY GIBBY GARY  
 PLEORDELINOIS INPUFE  
 ASA ASI RIB ANT SUB  
 CRICKENALANOKING LENO  
 MEBYL RIM PILAF BOCY  
 ELHI ESSE KILL OWN  
 PASTA SMITS REALES  
 PROHIBIO FAMES ARBITO  
 RUBOR WATERBIOF MOLTO  
 ANANIAS HANE RIPARIAN  
 BERGES HAON ALABR  
 ART ATIT IGES OLID  
 FOWL REESE SNL SANITY  
 OFTE OSCARMOELARENTA  
 REN OME TICU EICU GOD  
 ITSDHOUSE ABUE LOINE  
 GOOD ELISE LESE ENNIO  
 WERO BERIAN SSTS SAINT

مكتبة النجف

# CIA and Mossad combine in 007 antics

**T**HE Mossad agents were on the run, winding through the crowded streets of Khartoum, one step ahead of Sudan's secret police and their Libyan allies. The agents had been betrayed by Sudanese informants, their cover as European businessmen blown and their station - disguised as a private business office - compromised. They had managed to salvage only their secret communications gear before speeding off into the dark.

Their destination: Milton Bearden's house. For the next 30 days, Bearden, Khartoum station chief of the CIA, hid the four agents from Sudanese authorities, moving them from one CIA safe house to another to prevent their capture and likely execution.

Finally, the CIA arranged a remarkable escape, packing the four into crates custom-fitted with oxygen tanks, and then, just as their pursuers were closing in, shipping them as cargo on a Kenya-bound aircraft.

The story of how the CIA rescued these Mossad agents has not been made public before, and it helps to shed new light on the ties between the US and Israeli intelligence agencies, one of the least understood, most complex relationships in the espionage world.

With the demise of the Soviet KGB, no other spy service remains so shrouded in mystery and intrigue as the Mossad. In the post-Cold War world where US intelligence agencies resemble giant bureaucracies facing constant congressional oversight, the Mossad stands as a tough, daring spy service stripped down for fighting with a clear-cut goal - ensuring Israel's survival.

The Mossad's reputation for independence and ruthless action is legendary. But its effectiveness has always relied to a significant degree on its close ties with the CIA, its institutional big brother in

the West. Increasingly, though, that relationship is complicated by a growing feeling among some in the American national security establishment that it has become too one-sided.

The Mossad, some US sources complain, has done little recently to help US efforts to track down international terrorists, even in the Middle East. For example, America neutralized teams of Iraqi assassins and terrorist agents sent out by Iraq's Saddam Hussein during the Persian Gulf crisis without help from the Mossad, US intelligence sources say.

Worse, some in the US now see Israeli intelligence as a post-Cold War rival that has made America a prime target for its spying, for both political and economic information.

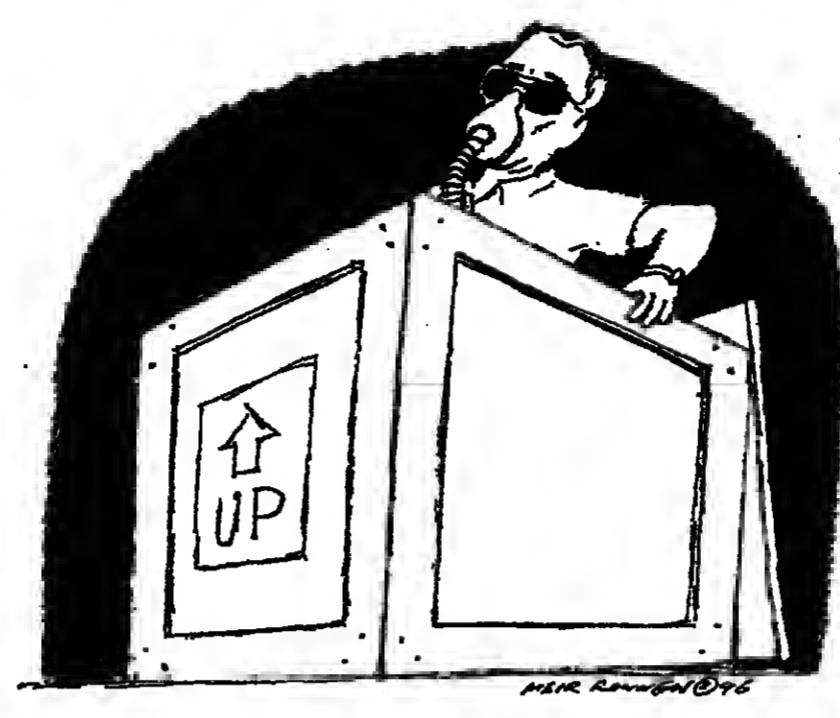
"By all accounts, the Israelis are among the most active foreign intelligence services operating in the United States," observes Jeffrey Richelson, an author and expert on US intelligence.

A decade after naval intelligence analyst Jonathan Pollard was imprisoned, a US Defense Department memo on counterintelligence recently labeled Israel a "nontraditional adversary" on espionage matters.

The memo caused a furor in the American Jewish community after it was leaked, because it suggested that Israeli intelligence relied on "strong ethnic ties" to American Jews to conduct its spying. It was quickly disavowed by the Pentagon and the report was withdrawn.

Both the CIA and Israeli government refused to comment on any aspect of the intelligence relationship between the CIA and the Mossad.

But US experts believe that Israel aggressively spies on America because of - and in spite of - its reliance on Washington for economic and military aid. Politically, Israel needs to know where US policy is heading, economi-



cally, it craves US technology to maintain its high-tech military.

Despite the ambiguities in the relationship, the ties between many CIA and Mossad officers in the field remain close and the agencies can work together well.

In the 1990s, for example, in another episode never before disclosed, the CIA agreed to broker secret meetings in Germany between the Mossad and Palestinians, as Israeli intelligence sought to reduce conflicts on the espionage front.

Further, observers say, the Clinton

administration is likely to offer even greater intelligence support to Israel if it agrees to give up the Golan Heights - and its critical listening posts - as part of a peace treaty with Syria.

On a personal level, Bearden, who retired from the CIA in 1994, says he and his colleagues felt a sense of "brotherhood" with the Mossad. And when the issue was life or death, any hint of rivalry vanished. The CIA rescue of the Mossad agents in Khartoum was clearly a high point in the secret partnership. In the spring of 1985, a military coup

in Sudan led to the overthrow of President Jafaar Numeiri, a pro-US leader. Numeiri was in Washington at the time of the coup, but many of his top lieutenants were not so lucky. They were quickly arrested, severing the CIA's ties to the Sudanese government.

Meanwhile, Libyan agents working for dictator Muammar Gaddafi began arriving to support the new Islamic government.

The situation grew more grim when the new Sudanese regime received a tip disclosing the existence and location of the secret Israeli intelligence station in Khartoum. With the airport closed and no other way out of the country, the Mossad agents had few alternatives: Israel had no diplomatic relations with Sudan, so it had no embassy to provide a haven.

Desperate, the agents reached out to the CIA and Bearden.

Two Mossad agents knocked on the front door of Bearden's home, unloaded their communications gear and moved into an upstairs bedroom. They were soon joined by a third Mossad agent from their station; a few days later, a fourth agent - sent in under cover by Israel to try to rescue the others - was there too.

Outside, on Khartoum's streets, the Sudanese and Libyans were hunting them. Bearden recalls.

But the CIA was soon able to monitor which part of the city the Sudanese would be scouring each night, and moved the agents from house to house. Every few nights, a darkened minibus from the US embassy would shuttle the Mossad agents and their CIA minders, all packing sidearms, among three sites - Bearden's home, that of another CIA officer and a CIA safe house.

Finally, Bearden said, the Sudanese authorities grew suspicious of the Americans. "We stayed ahead of them,"

Bearden recalled. "But the hunt for them was going on all over town." Desperate, Bearden gambled, telling the CIA and Mossad he planned to crate up the agents and fly them out of Khartoum airport.

CIA technicians built special crates, one for each Mossad agent. The crates were fitted with holes and plastic tubes for breathing, as well as solid-state oxygen tanks in case the holes became blocked.

The CIA arranged for a cargo aircraft to fly into Khartoum after the airport was reopened. A van from the US Embassy carried the crated agents straight from Bearden's house to the airport.

A CIA officer rode in the front seat; there were two more in back with the boxes. The embassy driver bluffed his way through airport security.

The plan seemed to be going smoothly, until Bearden got a tip that the Sudanese had figured out that he was hiding the spies, and that he was somehow trying to get them to Kenya. About the same time, the CIA officers at the airport reported that a Sudanese helicopter had begun to hover suspiciously nearby.

Bearden immediately called on a secure telephone, ordering the plane to take off and get the Mossad agents out. As soon as the crates were aboard, the plane turned and moved onto the runway, despite nervous calls from the Khartoum tower.

The plane took off without incident. By the time it landed in Nairobi, the Mossad men were out of their crates, with new identities to cover their travel back to Israel. Soon, Bearden got word that he might be a target of an assassination attempt by the Libyans in Sudan. He didn't push his luck for long. He quickly left for a new assignment. (Los Angeles Times)

## Legal volley belonged on home court

LAW REPORT  
ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the National Labor Court before the president, Judge Menahem Goldberg, Judges Yitzhak Eliasoff and Menahem Meron, employees' representative Kahel Helbatz and employers' representative Moshe Oren, in the matter of Haifa Chemicals Ltd., and Duclos International S.A., appellants, versus Albert Ben-Simon, respondent. (Mem. (2.96)-Resh. Doled Bet Avin Nun Vas/3-161, 9-104).

**O**N June 29, 1992, Ben-Simon signed a contract with Haifa Chemicals under which he would be temporarily employed in France until June 15, 1993, as the accountant of Duclos International, one of its subsidiaries.

The contract was extended until November 18, 1994, and Ben-Simon actually worked for Duclos until January 8, 1995.

Clause 20 of the contract provided that any differences between the parties would be adjudicated by the competent court in Haifa, and that each party would be restrained from lodging a claim in any other court.

Shortly after the expiry of his contract in November 1994, Ben-Simon lodged a claim in a French court against Haifa Chemicals for damages, severance pay and other relief. Haifa Chemicals and Duclos then applied to the Haifa District Labor Court for an injunction restraining him from proceeding with his claims in any French court, and ordering him to bring his action before the Haifa Labor Court.

The Haifa court issued the injunction and ruled that the dispute was in the main a matter of law. It decided, therefore, with the parties' consent, to dispense with cross-examining deponents and to receive counsels' summations in writing.

On June 22, 1995, it gave its judgment, without reasons, since the proceedings in France were

scheduled to begin in weeks. It decided to cancel the injunction, and permit Ben-Simon to pursue his claim in the French court.

It gave its reasons for judgment on January 8, 1996. It held, inter alia, that the circumstances created a separate employment contract between Duclos and Ben-Simon which did not include a clause similar to clause 20 above, and that Haifa Chemicals and Duclos had acted, in their relations with Ben-Simon, in bad faith. They then lodged an appeal to the National Labor Court on January 23, 1996, also applying for reinstatement of the injunction issued by the District Court.

JUDGE ELIASOFF delivered the judgment of the court. The Labor Court Regulations (Procedure) of 1991, he said, required an appeal from a district court to be lodged within 30 days of judgment. Ben-Simon's counsel, therefore, raised the preliminary argument that the appeal had been lodged too late since the Labor Court judgment, although without reasons, had been given on June 22, 1995.

The appellants' counsel submitted that the period for lodging the appeal ran from the date of the reasons, since it was impossible to appeal without knowing them. The court, however, without ruling which of the above submissions was correct, decided to extend the period for lodging the appeal until the date it was lodged, as provided in regulation 125 of the above regulations.

Appellants' counsel emphasized, be continued, that the legal question of the appropriate forum for trying the issues between the parties did not arise, since the appellants relied on a specific and clear provision in the contract between Haifa Chemicals and Ben-Simon. Even if Ben-Simon was also employed by Duclos, that did not affect at least Haifa Chemicals' right to enforce clause 20.

Moreover, the district court had ruled on the facts, and had even held the appellants guilty of bad faith, without hearing evi-

dence. The first part of clause 20, Judge Eliasoff continued, would have entitled the appellants - or, at least, Haifa Chemicals - to request the French court not to deal with the case. He held, however, citing precedents, that their failure to do so did not preclude them from now moving the appropriate Israeli court to apply the second part of clause 20, and order Ben-Simon to fulfill his undertaking.

It was imperative, he said, that an obligation to litigate in a particular court be clear and unambiguous. It was not sufficient for it to be implied, or read between the lines. Even then, an order restraining litigation in a foreign country, which has implications affecting a foreign court, will only be given after the most careful consideration.

Counsel for both parties had argued at length in the district court as to when the contract between the parties terminated. A finding on this point, however, which was complicated and necessary for resolving all the disputes between them, was unnecessary in the present proceedings, which related only to the narrow question of continuing the claim in the French court.

There was no dispute as to the provisions of clause 20 of Ben-Simon's contract and no reason why the court should not decide the issue before it based on the material before the district court.

Clause 20 was clear and understood by both Haifa Chemicals and Ben-Simon. There was no reason why the court should not enforce the contractual obligations the clause created.

Judge Eliasoff also pointed out that the relations between Ben-Simon and Duclos did not call for decision in these proceedings. It had not been argued that these parties signed a contract, and the question of the court in which any dispute between them was to be decided did not arise. Moreover, Duclos was not a party to the contract between Ben-Simon and Haifa Chemicals, and was also not cited as a defendant in the French court.

The court realized, he said, that this judgment was being given more than a year after the claim in the French court was lodged. However, since the hearing of the case had not yet begun, it

could have no adverse influence on the French judicial process.

FOR THE above reasons, Haifa Chemicals' appeal was allowed, and that of Duclos was dismissed. The District Court's judgment was set aside, and the injunction against Ben-Simon was confirmed. Ben-Simon was ordered to pay Haifa Chemicals' costs in the sum of NIS 3,500 plus VAT.

Eli Mei-Tal appeared for the appellants, and Ofer Atlas appeared for Ben-Simon. The judgment was given on February 27, 1996.

## Kinneret development freezes over

EARTHLY CONCERNS  
D'VORA BEN SHAUL

**E**NVIRONMENT Minister Yossi Sarid's decision to freeze development around the Kinneret for an indefinite period has aroused complaints from some Tiberias developers.

But such a freeze is, if anything, overdue. There are times when only halting activity gives an opportunity for thoughtful planning. There is little denying that the Kinneret is a badly abused lake, especially since it is the nation's principal water reservoir.

Nor is this the first time such a measure has been necessary. In the early 1970s, development was frozen for a time to implement serious planning and enable the government-appointed think-tank to assess the measures needed to protect the Kinneret. No matter how much lip service is paid by the public to the value of this great lake, the fact is we treat it very badly. Contaminated water flows down Wadi Amud and seeps into the lake, sewage systems in Tiberias are, in many cases, too old and leak.

Every rain sweeps agricultural pesticides, herbicides and farmyard contaminants into the lake's water. In addition, poor waste disposal all around the lake adds a burden of oils, detergents, plastic by-products and heavy metals. And every addition of a hotel, restaurant or vacation facility around the lake adds to the overall pollution.

Careless building projects bring about erosion of the coastline and theft of river stones causes the water to become muddied and to carry this pollution into the lake.

This is without mentioning the behavior of the average Israeli who visits the lake. Everything from leftover food to charcoal and detergent mixes in the water with the floating plastic and soft-drink cans around every picnic site.

There is also the problem that fewer and fewer places are available to the general public, as each year more of the really desirable beaches are leased and fenced in by private concerns.

Soon there simply won't be enough public recreation area for the number of visitors. Already those areas devoted to the public are overcrowded on holidays to the point where a visit is no longer a pleasure. If we don't take drastic steps to protect our water resources, we are going to be in for as serious a problem as we have ever faced.

The time to take these steps is now. If we don't, there remains the fear that we may wake up to the dangers too late for anything to help.

So, however unpopular this move may make Sarid, he is taking the only reasonable step for a responsible environment minister. In time, one hopes that even those who now object will see the wisdom in it.

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# BUSINESS & FINANCE

Monday, March 11, 1996

## February's trade deficit grows by \$1b.

JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

FEBRUARY'S trade deficit grew by \$1 billion, an increase of 13.4 percent over the same period last year, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported yesterday.

Exports, which totaled \$1.07 billion last month, have been decreasing steadily since November, when they hit a high of \$1.15b.

Imports have been expanding continuously and totaled \$2.06b. last month.

These seasonally adjusted figures do not include the import or export of ships, airplanes, diamonds and fuel.

Since September, the trade deficit has steadily been expanding by two to three percent per month.

Between October 1995 and February 1996 imports, not including diamonds and gasoline, increased by 1.6%-1.8% per month, compared to a 1% increase for exports in the same time period.

Despite the nominal growth in the trade deficit, the pace of its

increase has slowed in comparison to the 3%-5% monthly growth rate registered between June and September 1995.

Diamonds and gasoline imports totaled \$300m. last month, with raw materials comprising 60% of all imports, consumer goods 17% and machinery and equipment 23%.

Imports of machinery and equipment have risen by 2.4%-3% monthly since the start of 1995's fourth quarter.

Throughout the first three quarters of 1995, this number increased by some 1.6%-2.2% monthly.

Imports of consumer goods have increased by 1.5% to 2% since August 1995 and imports of raw materials have been rising by 1.1%-1.2% since September.

Industrial goods totaled 66% of exports, demonstrating a 1% increase since October.

Diamonds remained steady at 28% and agricultural products remained steady at 6% of all exports.

## 'Discount's sale shows investor confidence'

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

THE successful sale last week of 14.5 percent of Israel Discount Bank's shares indicates investors are maintaining their confidence in the local economy in general and the banking sector in particular, despite recent terrorist attacks, Finance Minister Avraham Shohat said yesterday.

The share offering last Thursday closed at NIS 3.30 per share, about 10.3% above the minimum price. The warrants' price was set at NIS 3.70, approximately 131% over the minimum.

Foreign institutions purchased about 25% of the stock.

The issue raised an immediate NIS 247m. Another NIS 249m. will be raised when the warrants are exercised within two years.

Ron Lubash, general manager of US investment bank Lehman Brothers local outlet, said the offering represents a breakthrough in distribution of Tel Aviv listed securities overseas.

However, work still needs to be done to fully integrate domestic local offerings with the standards and requirements of international markets, he added.

In the meantime, MI Holdings, the government-owned company in charge of the bank sale process, has started to prepare United Mizrahi Bank's (UMB) public offering with the intention of sell-

ing a package of shares on the exchange in May.

The issue will be based on UMB's financial statements for 1995. MI Holdings has not yet decided on the sale process.

Lehman Brothers and Societe Generale handled the negotiations with foreign investors for the Discount Bank offering.

Lubash said the offering highlighted the differences in the methodologies and the systems between Israel and international markets. He said part of the privatization process involved educating international investors with the way an Israeli issue is done, which consists of a tender process and a pre-commitment stage.

"To some extent I think these differences, even though people have gone through an education process and put in orders, make distribution of Israeli securities abroad less attractive," said Lubash. "If things here were exactly the way they were overseas, it would be easier to use them as a regular distribution methodology. If it is cumbersome, it takes away from investors' appetite. There was interest, but some standardization and further integration with international laws must be thought out and pursued."

MI Holdings general manager Meir Jacobson said the successful privatization of the country's third largest bank will contribute to the capital markets' upsurge and will also encourage first-class financial institutions to become involved in the capital market in the future. He said MI Holdings is currently working on United Mizrahi Bank's issue, which is scheduled for May.

Capital market analysts attributed the offering's success to Jacobson's decision to sell 60 percent of the total shares offered to institutional investors in Europe. This is the first time European investors took part in the purchase of an Israeli bank.

The analysts emphasized MI Holdings' courage to go ahead with the offering at a time when there is very little activity in the primary market.

Lubash said the results display tremendous international interest, which swayed Israeli investors to take part in the issue.

"It is interesting to note that the strong interest in the pre-commitment stage came before the domestic interest, which followed on the strong earlier indications that came from outside," Lubash said. "Sometimes, things seem more visible from a global perspective."

## BUSINESS BRIEFS

**Plan to unlink salaries approved:** A committee of government ministers approved Finance Minister Avraham Shohat's plan to unlink the salaries of employees who work in different branches of the public sector.

Until now, the salaries of directors general in the government were linked to those of government MKs and deputy ministers, as were those of heads of security services and judges in the Supreme Court. The decision will only go into effect for people who assume such positions as of June 1, 1996. *Jennifer Friedlin*

**Saguy wants Mifal Hapayis salaries made public:** MK Gideon Saguy (Labor) yesterday petitioned the High Court of Justice to ask that Finance Minister Avraham Shohat condition Mifal Hapayis' license on making salaries and pensions of its senior officials public.

According to press reports, chairman Gideon Gadot is making over NIS 60,000 a month, and will be eligible for about NIS 900,000 in severance pay when he retires plus a pension of some NIS 42,000 a month. Two of Mifal Hapayis' board of directors tried to convene a board meeting on the subject, but the other directors decided it was not even worth a discussion. *Evelyn Gordon*

## Gov't approves more foreign workers

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

THE manufacturing sector yesterday called on the government to import another 5,000 foreign workers for the manufacturing sector.

In the meantime, the government yesterday decided to permit 3,500 foreign workers to work in the agriculture sector and another 13,000 in the construction sector. *Manufacturers Association*

President Dan Propper said there is a shortage of 3,500 workers in the manufacturing sector, in addition to 1,700 workers who temporarily cannot enter the country because of the closure.

Since the Gulf war, the manufacturing sector has reduced its dependence on Palestinian workers to 1,700 from 22,500, Propper said.

## Economists: '96 CPI to hit 11%

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

THE Consumer Price Index is expected to reach 11 percent this year, Israel Discount Bank's economists predicted in their monthly economic report.

According to the bank's economists, the last few months' high inflation rate was influenced by the significant growth in money supply in the March-September 1995 period, which went up 40% in annual terms.

At the same time, the monetary

interest rate fell an accumulated 0.04%.

"Even if it decided to cut the budget after the elections, a subsequent reduction in the interest will be gradual and much smaller, and take into account developments in the budget deficit, trade deficit, money supply and public inflation forecasts," said Bank Discount.

The economists said the February Consumer Price Index is expected to be a relatively low 0.6%.

They said the rise in the means of payments has slowed down during the last few months and fell 0.5% in February.

A continued drop in the means of payment is expected to reduce the rise in the CPI at the start of 1997.

According to the economists, the domestic budget deficit in the January-February period shows that the government will not meet its aims to reduce the government deficit.

The economists also forecast that the government will have to significantly cut its expenditures after the elections, a measure which will reduce both its involvement in the economic sector and its financial assistance to households.

In addition, the Bank Discount economists urged the government to implement reforms in the labor market and in public sector wages in an attempt to cut public spending.

"Difficulties in implementing a real cut in government expenditure is expected to increase the tax burden by reducing government participation in employers payments to National Insurance and also increase Value Added Tax," the bank's economists said.

## Likud MK asks High Court to postpone vote on electricity bill

EVELYN GORDON

MK SILVAN Sbalom (Likud) yesterday asked the High Court of Justice to order the vote on the government's electricity bill postponed until after the Labor primaries, due to suspicions that the Israel Electric Corp.'s union has been using the primaries to influence voting on the bill.

The bill is slated to come up for its second and third reading today.

The petition, by attorney Alon Geleit, notes that the IEC union openly tried in press its 18,000 members into registering for the Labor Party, precisely so that the union would be able to influence the votes of Labor MKs on the bill.

For instance, a letter sent to retired IEC workers in the South, with a Labor Party registration form attached, stated:

"The future of the company and its continued existence depend on widespread and comprehensive registration [for the party], by means of which we will be able to influence policy-setters among the MKs with respect to the IEC."

Attorney-General Michael Ben-Yair recently ordered the opening of a criminal investigation into the union's activities, on the grounds that it appears to have violated the

law against using state-owned facilities and funds - in this case, those of the IEC - for party purposes, and may also have violated the laws against election bribery and threats in its efforts to get union members to register for Labor.

Ben-Yair's decision indicates a real possibility that Labor MKs' votes on the electricity bill will be influenced by the union's threats - which may even turn out to have been illegal - and therefore mandates postponing the vote until after the primaries, when these

threats will no longer be effective, Sbalom argued.

Furthermore, the petition argued, the bill, which largely perpetuates the IEC's monopoly, violates the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation, which prohibits any law that would be "unduly restrictive" but if the vote is held now the suspicion will be unavoidable that the motive was "primary considerations - which are not an appropriate purpose."

Sbalom therefore asked Knesset Speaker Shevah Weiss to postpone the vote, and when Weiss refused, he petitioned the High Court.

Civil Service Commission Ministry of Finance  
Training and Education Service The Accountant General

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Suppliers who wish to be included in the register should apply for a registration form from Ms. Anat Amram, Training and Education Service, Prime Minister's Building, Floor 6, Room 711, Jerusalem (Tel. 02-7052220). Offers must be submitted in a sealed envelope marked "Hotels Pool."

Last date for submitting offers: Sunday, March 31, 1996. They should be placed in the tenders box at the above address by 12 noon on this date.

No undertaking is given to accept any offer.

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- Compliance with the "minimum" conditions, given in the tender documents.

The tender documents can be obtained from the Tenders and Ordering Department of the Purchasing Division, 15 Rehov Hazvi, Jerusalem (Room 609) Tel. 02-395614/5, between 9 a.m. and 12 noon, Sunday to Thursday.

The tender documents will be provided on submitting a receipt of payment for NIS 1,000.

\* In Israel, payment should be made into Bezeq's Postal Bank account no. 5-311757.

\* Overseas suppliers should make payment into Bezeq's account no. 12-901-97633/64, at the Jerusalem main branch of Bank Leumi LeIsrael.

The fee for the tender documents is non-refundable.

The receipt, with details of your company and authorized trader's number, may be faxed to 972-2-378113. Please phone afterwards (phone numbers as above), to obtain confirmation of receipt of the fax.

3. Bids should be placed in the tenders box at 15 Rehov Hazvi, Jerusalem, not later than April 23, 1996, 6 p.m.

4. No undertaking is given to accept the lowest or any bid, or to order the entire work from one source.

Bids sent by fax or telegram will not be considered.

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## Elco Industries posts 20% rise in net profits

COMPANY RESULTS

RACHEL NEIMAN

ELCO Industries, which specializes in electro-mechanical systems and equipment, yesterday announced its annual net profits rose 20 percent to NIS 51.46m.

Consolidated revenues were NIS 432.54m. from NIS 419.36m. while earnings per share went up to NIS 6.98 from NIS 5.83.

Elco Industries includes among others Elcomat, Elco Marketing, Electra and Katzenstein Eldar.

Clal Computers Technology reported annual net losses of NIS 4.4m. compared with net losses of NIS 4.5m. in 1994.

Revenues rose to NIS 250.25m. from NIS 196.68m.

The rise in revenues was attributed mainly to increased activity on the part of Malam Systems to 27% of total revenues from 12%.

Clal Computers acquired Malam in the second half of 1994 for NIS 58.7m. Funding costs on the purchase increased to NIS 7.3m. from NIS 3m. in 1994, the result of high interest rates during the first half of last year.

During the third quarter, Clal Computers registered NIS 1.4m. in capital gains on the sale of NIS 1.5m. the result of Malam's waiving all rights to multimedia company Geo.

Clal Computers includes companies MMM Information Systems, Clal Systems, Orion Technologies, Malam Systems, Cimatron, Clal-IPEX (50%) and is a 12% partner in GoldNet.

Omni Brand Foods (formerly GE Pizza) suffered a 250% drop in annual net profits to NIS 537,000 from NIS 1.38m. in 1994. Consolidated revenues were NIS 50.22m. from NIS 32.5m. Earnings per share were NIS 0.113 from NIS 0.25.

Omni operates 19 Domino's Pizza shops and plans to open between 3-4 shops in 1996.

Omni, which went public in November, said the decline was due to losses experienced by a subsidiary company which began marketing Haagen Daz ice cream in Israel in July, 1995.

Net profits were affected by NIS 1.5m. in one-time expenses connected with introducing Haagen Daz and opening three ice cream parlors. Omni intends to open an additional 3 parlors in 1996.

Kvalim posted an increase in annual net profits to NIS 46.52m. from NIS 39.77m. in 1994.

Annual revenues rose to NIS 370.53m. from NIS 306.23m.

Electric power lines made up 55% of Kvalim's business last year, as compared with 50% in 1994.

Caniel Israel Can Company reported a 47% increase in net profits to NIS 4m. from NIS 2.72m.

Revenues rose to NIS 257.68m. from NIS 250.6m., while earnings per share went up to NIS 0.75 from NIS 0.50.

## Int'l consortium purchases Tahal

JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

AN international consortium of investment banks and development funds handed over a check for NIS 40.3 million to the government for the purchase of Tahal Water Planning for Israel Ltd., the Treasury announced yesterday.

Tahal is the country's largest engineering consulting firm.

The consortium's members include Leumi and Co. Investment Bankers Ltd. (25 percent), Housing and Construction Holding Company Ltd. (25%), and Israel Growth Fund (16.67%).

Parsons Brinckerhoff International (16.67%) and Kardan Investments Ltd. (16.67%).

In a ceremony announcing the sale, Finance Minister Avraham

Shohat said that by privatizing Tahal, the company would be better able to compete and further develop its client base - which currently includes governments, public institutions, private firms and individuals in more than 50 countries.

Founded in 1952, Tahal provides consultancy services in the fields of water resources development; water supply, sanitation and environmental protection; sewerage systems and highways; and agricultural development to governments, public institutions, private firms and individuals in more than 50 countries.

The company's income totaled \$36 million in 1994 and its projects had a total value of \$360m.

### ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Patah (foreign currency deposit rates) (10.3.96)

Currency (deposit term)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	4.375	4.375	4.500
U.S. dollar (\$50,000)	4.250	4.125	4.250
German mark (DM 200,000)	1.750	1.750	2.000
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	0.250	0.250	0.500
Yen (10 million yen)			

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

### Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates\* (7.3.96)

CHECKS AND TRANSFERS	BUY	SELL	BANKNOTES	BUY	SELL
Currency basket	3.4811	3.6170			
U.S. dollar	3.0727	3.1223			
German mark	2.0708	2.1042			
French franc	4.8901	4.7658			
British pound	0.8503	0.8149			
Australian dollar (100)	2.9153	2.9324			
Dutch guilder	1.8487	1.8798			
Swiss franc	2.5497	2.5859			
Norwegian krone	0.4788	0.4845			
Denmark krone	0.5388	0.5466			
Swedish krona	0.4486	0.4559			
Japanese yen	0.0202	0.0204			
Finland mark	0.8870	0.8778			
Canadian dollar	2.2333	2.2898			
Australian dollar	3.2626	3.3286			
S. African rand	0.7782	0.7918			
Belgian franc (10)	1.0082	1.0245			
Austrian schilling (10)	2.9482	2.9958			
Italian lira (1000)	1.2828	1.2945			
Jordanian dinar			4.22	4.51	4.2823
European pound			0.87	0.95	0.8828
ECU	3.9483	3.9774			3.8825
Irish punt	4.9194	4.8941			4.8629
Spanish peseta (100)	2.4640	2.5058			2.4874

\* Rates vary according to bank. Bank of Israel.

SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

The Jerusalem Post

Precious metals close higher

COMMODITIES ROUNDUP

Germany slams Austria over road fee



Key Representative Rates
US Dollar . . . . .NIS 3.1010
Starting . . . . .NIS 4.7507
Mark . . . . .NIS 2.1123

Precious metals close higher
COMMODITIES ROUNDUP

PRECIOUS metals closed higher on Friday, as a second round of sharp drops in the stock and bond markets in the afternoon boosted precious metals prices up to the close, analysts said.

Traders said an influx of investors jumping ship from bonds and stocks supported the day's early and late firmness throughout the precious metals complex.

At the close, April gold futures were \$1.80 higher at \$398.20, while May silver futures were 6.7 cents higher at \$5.522.

April platinum futures were 30 cents higher at \$413.50, while June palladium futures were \$2.20 higher at \$138.75.

May high-grade copper futures closed 270 points higher on Friday, closing at \$1.1990 per pound as a fall in the London Metal Exchange (LME) copper stocks spurred strong short covering by funds in both New York and London, floor sources said.

Analysts were mixed on the effects of the fall of the US stock market, which was outweighed by signs of strength in the construction sector and other copper users, they said.

A weak financial market dampened corn and wheat on Friday, causing the grains to close mixed. Corn witnessed decent commercial and light fund buying, which kept the market from breaking sharply with the March contract, closing up 1/4 at \$3.92 per bushel.

Soy futures traded lower for the majority of the day on Friday, pressured by a sharply lower financial market and lackluster trade in the grains.

March soybean futures closed 7 1/4 cents down at \$7.121/4 per bushel.

Cotton futures settled mixed with the spot May contract lower after coming under late selling pressure to hit a new session low ahead of the close.

Analysts said traders wanted to get out of positions ahead of the weekend and the USDA supply/demand report due out today. May closed 0.15 cents weaker at 83.71 cents per pound and December was off 0.08 at 80.12 cents per pound.

World sugar futures settled slightly off on Friday after continued lackluster trade that saw a jump to the week's highs early in the session.

The May contract settled four points lower at 11.70 cents per pound.

May coffee futures settled lower on Friday after a choppy, locally dominated session that traded within the recent range. The May contract settled 65 points lower at \$1.1205.

Cocoa futures settled slightly higher on the day after a very quiet session. The May cocoa futures contract settled \$4 higher at \$1.249.

Courtesy of Michael Zweimer, ComnStock Trading Ltd.

Gingrich: Wall Street drop shows need for budget deal

ATLANTA (Reuters) - House of Representatives Speaker Newt Gingrich said over the weekend the dramatic deterioration of stock prices on Wall Street underscores the need for lower federal taxes and a balanced US budget.

Seizing on Friday's 171-point drop in the Dow Jones to bolster his legislative struggle against US President Bill Clinton, Gingrich

warned that the US economy could face recession if the Republican agenda does not become law. "We really need to get lower taxes and a balanced budget for lower interest rates, just in order to avoid a recession. And I remain convinced of that," the Georgia Republican told reporters in his home district.

"This economy, I think, is very fragile. And I think we have to be lowering the cost of creating jobs and increasing the take-home pay of citizens if we're going to avoid a recession." But he was slow to reach a conclusion specifically about Friday's steep drop in stocks, which posted their third biggest decline in history after the government reported an

unexpectedly large gain of 705,000 non-farm payroll jobs in February. Analysts believe the jobs number was skewed by unusually severe winter weather, which may have slowed the pace of job creation a month earlier. "The bond market overreacted to the jobs number. Then the stock market overreacted to the bond market," Gingrich said.

EU ministers to meet amid economic gloom

BRUSSELS (Reuters) - European Union finance ministers are likely to put on a brave front to mask growing private concerns about their stagnant economies when they meet in Brussels today.

Recent economic figures paint a bleak picture of lower consumer and business confidence, rising unemployment and wholesale corporate restructurings.

While a confident assessment of future economic conditions may emerge from their regular meeting, complete with predictions of a pickup in activity toward the end of this year, some experts say there remains an undercurrent of worry.

"The sense I get when I talk to people in private is that they are becoming more worried about the [economic] outlook," said one

monetary official. "If you take a realistic view, you have to say this slowdown is protracted," he added.

Even the European Commission, normally unfazed by the hue and cry of gloomy pundits, conceded this week that 'growth in Europe would fall short of its earlier forecast.'

The EU's Brussels-based executive arm said it expects total output to grow by less than two percent in 1996, down from an initial estimate of 2.6%.

To a large extent, the revised outlook stems from a continued outpouring of dismal news from Germany, a country critical to Europe's economic fortunes.

Germany's unemployment rate climbed in February to its highest since World War II, standing at

11.1% of the workforce compared with 10.8% in January.

The dearth of jobs has in turn clearly harmed consumer confidence, which dipped sharply in February after showing signs of stability in January.

The Commission's latest surveys of consumer and business opinion noted the decline in confidence was widespread, affecting nearly all the EU's 15 members.

Within the industrial sector, companies across Europe reported falling orders in both domestic and foreign markets, the survey added.

For economic policy-makers the steady stream of weak data has prompted greater opening of the monetary tap.

The central banks of Britain, France, Sweden and Denmark all

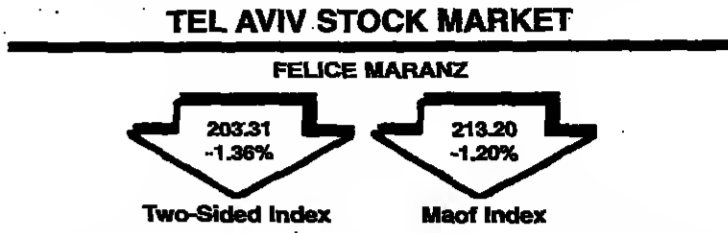
lowered official short-term interest rates this week.

Yet the question which continues to haunt financial markets and the prospects for renewed business activity is the future course of the Bundesbank's monetary policy.

Bundesbank President Hans Tietmeyer last week offered a mixed evaluation. He emphasized the current downturn was not a recession but carefully left open the prospect of new rate cuts.

Still, with short-term interest rates having fallen a long way already and budget policies handcuffed to the structures of a single European currency, governments may be nearing the limit of what they can do to lift the pervading economic gloom.

TASE follows Dow downward



STOCK indexes opened the week with declines yesterday, tracking losses on Wall Street. Declines were led by Teva Pharmaceuticals Ltd.

On Friday, US stocks suffered their worst drop since November 1991, as a surge in job growth dashed expectations the Federal Reserve will cut interest rates soon.

The Dow Jones fell 171.24 to 5470.45. "Tel Aviv was influenced by the decline in the Dow," said Dan Kiri, an analyst at Tel Aviv's Bank Orza HaHayal.

"And we're a bit afraid of what will happen when trading starts tomorrow."

The Maof Index fell 1.20 percent to 219.20, and the Two-Sided Index fell 1.36% to 203.31, of 991 issues trading across the exchange, more than five times as many shares fell as rose.

Some NIS 83 million worth of shares traded, NIS 5.3m. below last Thursday's level and about NIS 5m. below the trading level two weeks.

Teva fell 2.75% in the past few weeks," said Kiri. Investors are waiting for news regarding the company's multiple sclerosis treatment, Copaxone, which is under US Food and Drug Administration review.

Mashov Computers, also on the Two-Sided Index, fell 5.5% after Magic Software Enterprise Inc.'s shares fell in New York to 103/4 on Friday from 113/4 on Wednesday.

Mashov owns 51% of Magic, which announced last week that its president, David Assia, had been temporarily replaced. Had it not been for the declines across the board in US stocks, Israeli shares might have gained, said Kiri, since investors expect declining inflation may prompt the bank of Israel to lower interest rates later this month.

(Bloomberg)

S. Korea warns of trade deficit jump from rapid market opening

SEOUL (Reuters) - South Korea's finance minister has sounded the alarm over a jump in the trade deficit and warned rich-nation members of the OECD Seoul cannot risk rapid market opening to join their club.

"Frankly, I'm a little bit concerned," Rha Woong-bae said over the weekend, referring to a record single month current account deficit for January.

He said the \$1.52 billion shortfall, and official predictions of a similar gap for February, cast doubt on Seoul's ability to narrow its deficit to a targeted \$5-6b. this year from \$8.8b. in 1995.

"I'm not confident about that," said Rha, the minister for finance and economy. "I'm carefully watching the current account balance of payments deficit."

Rha said the figures showed the vulnerability of the economy to currency appreciation, which hurts exports.

The won is under upward pressure from dollar inflows as Korea opens its once tightly-closed economy.

Rha called for understanding from the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which Seoul is pressing to join before the end of the year.

"We are committed to opening our markets, but it must be cautiously managed, step-by-step," said Rha. "Many developing countries are asking us to open the Korean economy more rapidly, but this rapid opening may bring appreciation of the won, which will hurt the competitiveness of export industries

and increase the balance of payments deficit."

"We hope foreigners do understand we are having difficulties opening markets because of a balance of payments deficit," Rha said.

Despite last year's hefty trade deficit, South Korea recorded an overall surplus of \$3.08b. because of a capital account surplus of \$13.54b.

In 1995 the won gained about 1.8% on the dollar. Seoul predicts moves to open the stock market wider by raising the foreign investment ceiling to 20% this year from 15% will attract an extra \$3.5b.

Fears of more dollars chasing domestic bonds is slowing the pace of fixed income market opening, Rha said.

"Certainly it is one factor that makes us somewhat more conservative in opening the bond market," he said.

Foreigners can now invest only in commercial paper issued by small and medium-sized enterprises, which have a poor track record, and certain low-yield government paper.

Rha said a New York-listed \$100 million country fund for bond investment would be launched this year as planned, but he was unable to give an exact timetable.

While he was optimistic that economic growth could be held at a targeted 7-7.5%, ensuring a soft-landing after a 9.3% expansion last year, Rha warned of the danger from regional instability. "Asia is not as stable as Europe and

North America. In fact, it's one of the most unstable regions in the world. Look at what's happening between Taiwan and China."

China is firing missiles into target sites close to Taiwan as a warning against independence.

"North Korea is also creating instability," said Rha, echoing widespread concerns that food shortages and political uncertainties in Pyongyang threaten a fragile truce that ended the 1950-53 Korean war.

"This means that capital inflows and outflows may not depend entirely on economic factors."

"So managing the Korean economy must be done very carefully, weighing economic and non-economic factors."

(Bloomberg)

S. Africa's ANC blasts big business growth plan

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters) - South Africa's ruling African National Congress has slammed an economic growth plan drawn up by a big business think-tank as "a recipe for disaster" which could push the country back-wards.

Labor Minister Tito Mboweni, a member of the ANC's executive committee, said the party believed there were major flaws in the strategy document drawn up by the South Africa Foundation, which groups about 60 of the country's largest companies.

The plan released last month said major economic reform would be needed if the government was to meet its hoped-for target of six percent annual economic growth.

"The Growth For All document runs the risk of pushing our country backwards in a number of respects and the policies proposals contained therein could be a recipe for disaster and if they were ever to be adopted would interrupt government," Mboweni told a news conference.

Among the proposals in the document was cutting the budget deficit by around 1.5% of gross domestic product (GDP) from 6% at present, raising billions of rand

through an accelerated privatization program and creating flexibility in the labor market.

Mboweni slammed proposals for bribe privatization of state assets.

"They are saying that we should move swiftly to privatization, which means that... the whole of the government would be limited to zero almost immediately."

A brief privatization program sounds almost like a kind of Thatcherite program," Mboweni said, referring to former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, who pioneered a program of rapid privatization.

President Nelson Mandela's government said last year it would sell off some state-owned enterprises and seek minority partners in some strategic utilities, including the telecommunications company Telkom.

In February, the government and organized labor signed a national framework agreement on restructuring and privatizing state assets.

"We would not be supportive of the overall thrust of this document... we say this could cause major social dislocation," Mboweni added.

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NEWS

# Defense witness Ojalbo: Raviv told Amir Rabin must die

AVISHAI Raviv, the alleged GSS informer who founded the extreme right-wing organization Eyal, is flanked by Yigal Amir to kill Yitzhak Rabin, former Kach member Eran Ojalbo, testifying for the defense, told Tel Aviv District Court yesterday.

Policeman Moshe Afron testified that on the night of the rally, security forces had been briefed for a possible terror attack. But at the scene, he said, police were warned of a possible assassination attempt.

"Raviv told Yigal and others time and time again that there was a *din rodef* on Yitzhak Rabin," said Ojalbo. "He said, 'Rabin should die,' and whoever killed him was a righteous person."

Ojalbo was Raviv's roommate for more than 18 months, and joined Eyal after Kach was made an illegal organization.

He also said Raviv had sent him to post flyers advertising Eyal, and encouraged others to break into Orient House.

**RAINE MARCUS**

Ojalbo testified that Raviv organized Shabbat activities and anti-government demonstrations nationwide. Amir was invited every weekend to take part in Eyal's activities, and Raviv even sent him to carry out "various missions." "Raviv had a great influence on Yigal," stressed Ojalbo. "He continuously emphasized to him and other students that whoever implemented the *din rodef* on Rabin was carrying out a holy mission." "Ten minutes after it was announced that Rabin had been injured, on the night of the rally, Raviv phoned me and asked me how I was," said Ojalbo. "He also asked me who had shot Rabin. I replied that I could see a short Yemenite guy. 'Is it Yigal?' Raviv asked me. I looked again and said that it was Yigal."

Two GSS agents also testified behind closed doors.

Other defense witnesses included three policemen who described

the scene immediately after the shooting.

Policeman Aviv Yabav said that after he had helped pin Amir against the wall after the murder, Amir told him he had shot only "blanks." But soon afterwards, said Yabav, Amir admitted that he had fired real bullets and had only said he fired blanks because he was afraid that police would shoot him. Additional defense witnesses will appear tomorrow. A police investigator, psychologist Avi Weil, and Rabbi Yoel Bin-Nun and Aharon Lichtenstein have been summoned by the defense.

Judge Edmond Levy refused to allow an additional psychologist, acting for the defense, to examine Amir. He also refused to permit Menahem Damti, Rabin's driver, to testify for the defense.

Levy urged both the defense and prosecution to expedite proceedings, so that when defense witnesses complete their testimony tomorrow, the summations may begin.



Yigal Amir leans in front of a court guard to consult with attorney Samuel Fleischman yesterday. (Reuter)

## Peretz wants strike over pensions postponed

**HISTADRUT** Chairman MK Amir Peretz yesterday asked the large unions to postpone the strike they were planning for Thursday next week, to give the Treasury time to consider the Histadrut's and unions' demands to change the pension plan.

The union heads are to meet today to decide on whether to

**MICHAL YUDELMAN**

agree to Peretz's request.

The Histadrut's leadership debated the unions' demands to cancel the government's new pension plan, which reduces the pension allocations of some 600,000 workers, at yesterday's session.

The large unions threatened last month to disrupt the economy unless the Treasury cancels the pension plan which damages the workers' pension rights, claiming that the Finance Ministry had come up with a plan which violates all the agreements they had reached with former Histadrut head Haim Ramon.

## Army renames Quartermaster Branch

THE IDF decided to change the name of the Quartermaster Branch to the Branch of Technology and Logistics. The new name, the army said, is more reflective of a modern army.

The branch, headed by

**ARIEH O'SULLIVAN**

Maj. Gen. Amiaz Sagis, consumes the largest portion of the military's budget, and procures and maintains equipment. "The development of the IDF in the

past few years has changed the task of the branch, which has been called Quartermaster since the IDF was founded," an army statement said. "The Branch of Technology and Logistics better reflects its role."

## Fassa sentenced to 6 months' community service

UZI Fassa, former director of the Histadrut's Mifal V'tarbut organization, who testified for the prosecution in the Histadrut case, was sentenced to six months community service by Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court judge Edna Bekenstein yesterday. Fassa was convicted on fraud charges arising from the 1994 Histadrut primaries, when he received orders from MK Avi Yehzekel and others to pay for work ostensibly for the Histadrut, but in fact for their primary campaigns.

Information provided by Fassa helped obtain an indictment against MK Avi Yehzekel. The District Attorney's Office still has to decide whether to indict others allegedly involved. Fassa was charged with issuing seven false invoices to Histadrut members to cover their campaign costs. The work involved amounted to nearly NIS 800,000.

*Raine Marcus*

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Winning cards

In yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the queen of spades, nine of hearts, seven of diamonds, and eight of clubs.

## Seniors to get 50% discount on public transport

**BEGINNING** on April 1, senior citizens - men 65 or older and women 60 or older - will be entitled to 50 percent discount on all public transportation, both intracity and intercity, Transport Minister Yisrael Kessar announced yesterday.

The discount, mandated by the Senior Citizens Law, will apply to all types of tickets, including monthly passes. It will also apply to both buses and trains.

Ministry spokesman Avner Ovadia explained that the discount took effect in two phases: In the first, which started on March 1, it applied only to intracity public transportation and to multi-ride tickets. As of April 1, the discount will also apply to intercity buses and trains and to all types of tickets.

Senior citizens will now be able to purchase new, 20-ride tickets for NIS 33.

*Jerusalem Post Staff*

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**Rudolph W. Giuliani**  
Mayor of the City of New York

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